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*Vol. 101*

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JULY—OCTOBER.

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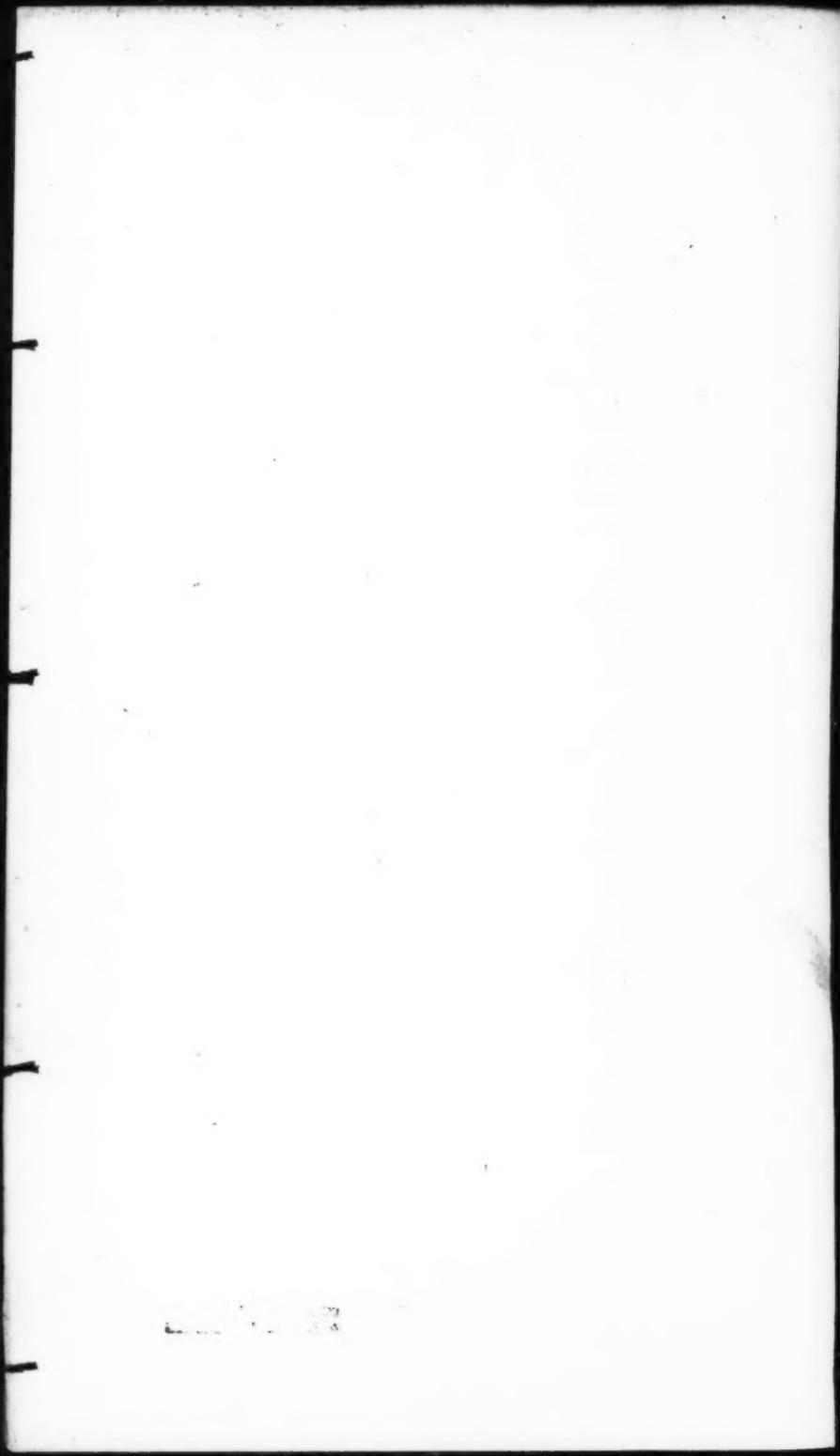
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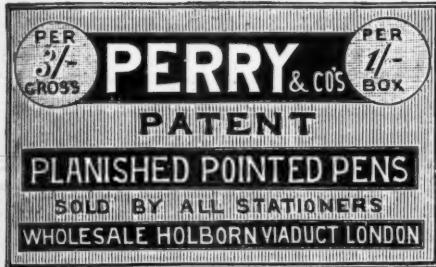
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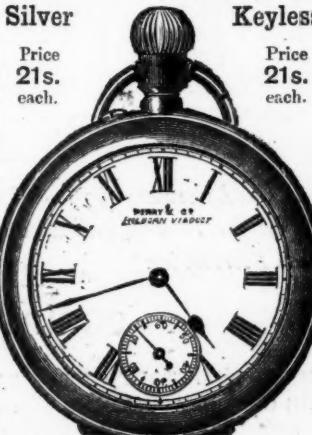
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THE  
DUBLIN REVIEW.

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JULY 1887.

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ART. I.—BISHOP WILLSON.

1. *Personal Recollections of the Right Reverend Robert William Willson, First Bishop of Hobart, Tasmania.* Compiled by the Rev. THOMAS KELSH. Hobart. 1882.
2. *Second Report from the Select Committee of the House of Lords appointed to inquire into the Execution of the Criminal Law.* Session 1847.
3. *Second Progress Report of Select Committee on Lunatic Asylums.* Legislative Assembly, New South Wales, 1863–4.

AMONG the distinguished ecclesiastics whom England has produced in recent times, there is one whose name is held in benediction at both extremities of the world, and whose memory ought not to be left to the shadows of a vanishing tradition. Robert William Willson, a man of singular humanity and benevolence, was the founder of the Catholic church in Nottingham, the episcopal founder of the Church in Tasmania, the effectual reformer of the management of deported criminals in our penal settlements, a most influential reformer of lunatic asylums and their management, as well in England as in Australia, and the man who, through his influence with the imperial and colonial Governments, caused the breaking up of the horrible penal settlement of Norfolk Island. As the present writer was honoured with his intimate confidence, had previously gone over the same ground on which his greatest works were achieved, and is in possession of his most valuable papers, he esteems it his duty to draw up some record of his life and works such as the limits of an article in THE DUBLIN REVIEW will permit.

Robert William Willson was born in Lincoln in the year VOL. XVIII.—NO. I. [Third Series.]

1794. His father was a builder in that city, much esteemed for his skill and probity ; a member of the Anglican Establishment, he entered the Catholic Church late in life. His mother was a devout and well-instructed Catholic, of firm character and deep religious sense, to whose good and pious training he ever looked back with tender affection and gratitude. We must not overlook his elder brother, Edward James, whom he always regarded with deep respect and affection, who embraced architecture as his profession, devoted his mind to antiquarian pursuits, and was among the first revivalists of the pure Gothic styles. He contributed a number of essays to the works of Britton and to those of Augustus Pugin, the father of the celebrated Welby Pugin.

After a fair school education, young Willson entertained the desire of becoming a farmer, and was consequently placed as a pupil on a farm in Nottinghamshire. Here he acquired business habits and experience of common things. He was a spirited, cheery youth, attracting friendships, fond of domestic animals, delighting in spirited horses, and in backing and taming young colts. His horsemanship became valuable to him in the Australian bush.

But on the completion of his twentieth year there came a spiritual crisis that changed the whole course of his life. He was looking forward to settle in life as a farmer, and had actually formed an attachment to a young lady amounting almost to an engagement, when, reading a spiritual book, according to his daily custom, a sudden light flashed into his mind, and in that light came a sense of God with such a might and majesty into his soul that this world vanished into nothing before his eyes, and he felt that God claimed his whole heart and life. He communicated to that other soul the great light that God had given to his own, and this affected her so deeply that they both agreed to give themselves to God in the religious life. He contemplated nothing higher than the state of a lay brother in a Benedictine monastery. She entered a Benedictine convent, became a holy nun, and died Abbess of her community. But when Mr. Willson opened his mind and intention to the venerable Bishop Milner, the bosom friend of his family, the Bishop gave his decision in these emphatic terms : "No, sir ; I command you to be a priest. You must go to Oscott and begin your studies."

He consequently entered the college of Old Oscott in the year 1816, and at once began his philosophy, passing into theology the following year. On reading St. Chrysostom, "On the Dignity of the Priesthood," his modest self-diffidence took alarm at the responsibility before him, and it was only in obedience to the command of his superiors that he bowed himself to the will of

God. During his college life he was endeared to all, both clerical and lay, by his good sense, by the soberness of his character, by a certain humility of heart, by the assiduity of his application, and by his readiness to help and console others in their troubles. Writing many years afterwards from Tasmania to one of his students at Rome, he advises him to submit cheerfully to any little disappointments that may arise in college life, and then goes on to say :—

I can remember such disappointments, which, I doubt not, turned out ultimately great blessings to me. I once had an appointment in college, and was to commence my work after the vacation. I was told, however, during the vacation, without any explanation, that my services would not be required. By God's blessing, I was resolved not to pout and look grand and ill-used ; so I went laughing on. In two months the President, who took what was to have been my duty, nearly upset his health and eyesight ; so, unknown to him, I informed the Bishop, brought the doctor to him myself, and had him cured. He was afterwards the Bishop and my great friend.

The confidence which Dr. Milner placed in his student was singularly shown on a special occasion. A widowed lady was left with two orphans and no protector. She went to Bishop Milner for advice, stating that she wanted a guardian for her children, a trustee for her property, and a protector for herself. The good Bishop turned his mind to Mr. Willson, sent for him, and said to him, "I lay it as a command upon you, sir, that you take the guardianship of this lady, her children, and her property." Well and worthily did Mr. Willson perform that duty for many years, to the great consolation of that lady and her children, and that without interference with his clerical duties. It was at that lady's residence that the present writer, on his first return from Australia in 1837, made Mr. Willson's acquaintance, and that meeting resulted in his appointment as first Bishop of Tasmania.

Having completed his theological studies, he was ordained to the priesthood by Bishop Milner in December 1824, and in the February following was sent to Nottingham. On his departure for that mission the Bishop said to him, "My dear son, I wish you to be at Nottingham what Father Broomhead has been at Manchester." Every Catholic knew in those days with what energy, zeal, and prudence Father Broomhead had raised up our holy religion in that great town. Father Willson found the few Catholics in Nottingham under the care of an aged French emigrant priest, whose flock assembled in a small chapel with difficulty holding 150 people, situated up a blind alley, where also was his humble residence, to which he had to make his way among wet clothes hung on lines across his path.

In the course of a year Father Willson found his congregation doubled, and reaching the number of 500 souls, of whom some squeezed their bodies into the little chapel, whilst others had to stand or kneel outside. He then resolved to bring the Catholic religion into open day. He secured an ample site in a prominent position, and upon it he built the spacious church of St. John, then called a chapel. It was an advancement upon the times, and was then considered the most remarkable place of Catholic worship in the country. At that time, as we well remember, a number of itinerant declaimers against Popery were perambulating the country, and Father Willson's works and deeds were not likely to escape their attention. They filled Nottingham with their clamours, but this only served to awaken the curiosity of many of the inhabitants, who crowded the new church to hear the priest's replies. With natural dignity, great calmness, good sense, and spiritual clearness, Father Willson explained to them the Catholic religion, historically, doctrinally, and practically; and the result was a number of conversions to the faith.

St. John's was completed in 1828, and rapidly filled; for the good people of Nottingham were much attracted to its pastor, as well by his kind, gentle, and sympathetic ways as by his sensible instructions. Besides his duties to his flock at large, he was assiduous in his attentions at the workhouse, at the house of correction, at the town and county prisons, and at the lunatic asylum, for which last he had a special attraction. The magistrates and other leading men of the town began to discover that they had a man of no ordinary qualities in the Catholic priest. His friendship was sought, and his judgment solicited in affairs of public interest as well as in matters of private concern. He was known to have put down serious disturbances by his personal influence alone. He was found to have a singular power over criminals, and also over the insane. He was placed on the Board of the county hospital, in which he took great interest; and was also invited to take a seat on the Board of the county lunatic asylum, upon the committee of management of which for fourteen years he was annually elected. He had not only much influence in its reconstruction and re-arrangement, but with the co-operation of his Catholic friend, Dr. Blake, he effected most valuable reforms in the management of the patients.

The writer will never forget the day on which he walked with Father Willson through that noble institution, and witnessed the singular influence which he exercised with mild and gentle sway over its suffering inmates. He knew all about every one of them, and many of them flocked round him like children round a father; and he had a word for one, a question for another, and a firm but mild rebuke for another. He then gave a hint to the keepers

about this one, another about that one. A sturdy young fellow came up to the strange visitor in furious excitement, menacing with vehement looks and gesticulations. Father Willson said, "Don't notice him," stepped before him, smiled into his eyes, and exactly imitated every gesticulation that he made; whereupon the poor lunatic subsided into a gentle creature, and turned and walked away. For some time he had under his special care in his own house a gentleman afflicted with this malady, who on one occasion suddenly sprang up from a state of apparent calmness, seized a table-knife, and plunged it with all his force at Father Willson's heart. The knife pierced through a Prayer-book in his breast-pocket, and then bent double, leaving him uninjured except by the shock. Father Willson merely said to him, "My dear friend, why did you do that? Let us sit down to dinner."

In the year 1832 the cholera raged in Nottingham, and the good father put forth his utmost exertions to relieve the afflicted. He went from house to house, not only to the sufferers of his own flock, but wherever he was called; and several hours a day he spent in the hospital opened for the treatment of that frightful malady. Many persons owed their lives entirely to his treatment. It was about this time that the Corporation presented him with the freedom of Nottingham. It may also be mentioned that for fourteen years he was annually elected one of the seven governors of the county infirmary.

Mr. Samuel Fox, of the Society of Friends, presented the town with eleven acres of land for a public cemetery. The Church of England clergy advised the generous donor to let it be consecrated by the Archbishop of York. Innocent of the legal effect of this act, the good Quaker assented, and found too late that it had become the exclusive property of the Anglican Establishment, which was already provided with cemeteries. The benevolent man had recourse to Father Willson, and their conferences resulted in obtaining an Act of Parliament for establishing a cemetery for all denominations.

No one could come into Father Willson's presence without being made sensible of his calm, dignified, and self-possessed manners. Of middle stature, and somewhat portly, he had led too active a life to become a ripe scholar; but he was a man of keen observation, unusual good sense, and great knowledge of human nature. His lower features were squarely set, and indicated strength of will; his mouth was firm yet gentle in its lines; his grey eyes vivid under their strongly marked brows; but the imposing feature of his countenance was his brow. Square and well advanced above the eyes, the upper part presented an extraordinary development, which rose like a small second brow upon the first. Herbert's portrait of him at Oscott presents a generally

good likeness, but by placing the mitre on his head the artist has concealed this remarkable formation, and has thus deprived his features of their crowning expression. Spurzheim was lecturing on phrenology in the Town Hall of Nottingham when Father Willson came in, removing his hat as he entered. The celebrated phrenologist interrupted his lecture, and asked, "Who is that gentleman? He has the largest development of benevolence that I ever saw on a human head."

As our intimacy grew, it was impossible not to be impressed with the eminent justness of his character; he was just in his thoughts, just in his views, just in his judgments, and just in his actions, to which must be added an unaffected humility, united with an elevated sense of what is honourable. Among personal anecdotes he told me the following:—He was walking through a leading street in London after dark, when a gaily dressed young woman came up and put her arm through his. He walked calmly on for a few moments, then turned his eyes compassionately on hers, and said, "Child, are you happy?" She burst into tears. He then disengaged his arm, and inquired into her history. She was a daughter of an old and respectable Catholic family, who had been led away from her home under false pretences, and had then been abandoned in that great Babylon. He placed her in proper lodgings, communicated with her friends, and at her own request placed her in a convent abroad, where she lived a penitential life and died a holy death.

He narrated to the writer in confidence, during repeated visits to Nottingham, in the intimacy of friendship, a number of anecdotes that showed his influence among all classes, several of which were of persons not of his flock, and who, previously unknown to him, came in secret to seek his advice in special difficulties or troubles. One also observed how orderly and methodical he was in all his ways and surroundings. This he continued to the end, his papers and correspondence on business being all arranged by his own hand in perfect order, and he kept a journal of all important acts.

By this time he had obtained a much-needed assistant in his missionary work, and, as his congregation continued to increase, he set his mind on building a noble church. With the approval of the venerable Bishop Walsh, he purchased a magnificent site of 6000 square yards, and adjoining it another site of 4500 square yards for a convent, and called in the celebrated Welby Pugin to furnish plans and to carry them out. His numerous friends came to his assistance, and he himself was clerk of the works. His friend John Earl of Shrewsbury contributed £7000. The Rev. R. W. Sibthorpe, though not yet a member of the Church, offered him £2000. Several of his Protestant friends brought

valuable aid—some in money, others in decorative work. Gradually there arose before his eyes that fine group of buildings which now constitute the Cathedral of St. Barnabas, with its episcopal and clerical residence, schools, and convent. The church alone cost £20,000.

So soon as Father Willson's plans came before the public, the more vehement Anglicans took alarm, and pamphlets, sermons, newspaper articles, and public addresses were poured in profusion on the devoted head of the Catholic priest and his Romish encroachments. The Protestant Archdeacon put out a magisterial pamphlet, in which he asserted that no church could be built in Nottingham without permission of, and dependence on, the mother church of St. Mary's, over which he presided, thus claiming for the Establishment the exclusive right of building churches. The Rector of St. Nicholas followed much in the same strain. Father Willson took all their points on his own shield, and gave such clean-cut thrusts in reply that he was generally considered to be the victor.

In the year 1837 he published his "Complete Refutation of Maria Monk," compiled from the evidence of Colonel Stone, a Protestant gentleman of New York, which became the standard reply to that disgraceful collection of calumnies. He also gave a scathing rebuke to a certain Wesleyan minister, who gave it out in his chapel at Derby that "the Catholic priest at Nottingham had declared from the pulpit to his people that he was prepared to grant indulgences for any sin they might commit during the Whitsun holidays." At that time there was a medical celebrity in Nottingham, who became an enthusiastic disciple of Edward Irving, and who, eager to glorify his sect, resolved to convert the Pope. By way of preparation he wrote a large book, had it translated into Italian, and elaborately bound in morocco and gold. It so happened that, when Bishop Willson went to Rome before sailing for Tasmania, this enthusiastic gentleman was one of the first persons he met in the Eternal City. He had not converted the Pope, but the Pope's religion had converted him, and he was seriously thinking of preparing for the priesthood.

One great service that Father Willson rendered to the Catholics of this country ought not to be forgotten. In conjunction with the late Canon Sing of Derby, he made arrangements with the late Mr. Richardson of that town to bring out Catholic books at a very much cheaper cost than that at which they had hitherto been published. They became accessible to the poorer classes, and Bibles, Testaments, Prayer-books, Lives of the Saints, and standard works of devotion were made attainable at about a fourth of their former price. He also wrote and circulated a plan for a Catholic Tract Society, which afterwards came into operation.

But the time had come when Father Willson was to be called to higher responsibilities. And here it becomes necessary, for the explanation of events, that the writer should quit the style of the reviewer, and introduce himself for a moment. On my return from New South Wales in 1840, in company with the Bishop of Sydney, then the only Australian Bishop, I thought much upon the religious requirements of the Australian colonies, and whilst sailing in a Chilian brig in the South Pacific I drew up a plan for a hierarchy of Bishops for the whole extent of the then known Australasia. That plan was presented to the Holy See by the Bishop of Sydney, and with some modifications was approved by Gregory XVI. Hobart Town was at that time the most important place, after Sydney, for an episcopal see. Having myself declined it for special and personal reasons, it was offered to the Very Rev. J. P. Wilson, then Prior of St. Gregory's, Downside. But as that Benedictine father also declined the appointment, considerable difficulties arose as to who should be recommended. Then it was that I thought seriously of the remarkable qualifications of Father Willson of Nottingham, of his well-known power over the criminal classes, and of the great interest he had taken in our remote penal settlements. I therefore recommended him for the office in the strongest way I could. The result was his appointment to the See of Hobart Town.

No sooner, however, did the fact become known than the people of Nottingham, Protestant as well as Catholic, took alarm. At the instance of several Protestant gentlemen, Mr. Close—himself a Protestant and a magistrate, and an intimate friend of the Bishop-elect—opened communications with Bishop Walsh and with Bishop Wiseman, then Coadjutor of the Midland District. From these letters I extract one passage:—

I am perfectly convinced [says Mr. Close] that Mr. Willson's separation from the town where during many years he has exercised his mild benevolence will be not only a loss to the community at large, but more especially an injury to the Catholic Church, in the inevitable curtailment of that influence which, through the personal confidence placed in Mr. Willson's probity and discretion, it has exercised upon the administration of the charities of the town, with satisfaction to all, and with especial contentment to the members of his own flock, who now tremble at the very idea of being deprived of his pastoral superintendence. To prove that I am not alone in this view of the subject, I further presume to enclose a testimony from many of the principal magistrates, several of whom have served the office of Mayor.

The document enclosed, and signed by the Mayor, seven magistrates, and the town clerk, is expressed in the following terms:—

Nottingham, April 9th, 1842.—We, the undersigned magistrates

of the borough of Nottingham, have great pleasure in testifying that the Rev. Mr. Willson has on all occasions evinced the utmost anxiety to support the municipal authorities in the maintenance of the public peace, and that, in several instances, he has succeeded by his personal influence in pacifying rioters and excited assemblies, which, to have suppressed, would otherwise have required a considerable exertion of physical force on the part of the police.

His devoted labours for so many years in the hospital for the insane drew forth another strong testimonial from the forty noblemen, magistrates, and gentlemen who formed the board of management. These and similar documents were forwarded to Rome by Bishop Wiseman, together with his own representations and those of Bishop Walsh, in the hope of still retaining his services in England. But the Sovereign Pontiff adhered to his decision. The Bishop-elect therefore accepted his appointment under obedience, and began to prepare for his consecration. He deeply felt the separation from his devoted flock, his friends, and the works in progress at Nottingham. His last ministerial act there was to ascend the spire of the yet incompletely church of St. Barnabas, and bless the cross planted on its summit.

He was consecrated in St. Chad's Cathedral, Birmingham, on the Feast of SS. Simon and Jude, October 28, 1842. Bishop Wiseman was both consecrator and preacher. Many of his late flock travelled from Nottingham to be present, and in the course of his sermon Bishop Wiseman addressed them in these words:—

Tell your brethren at home—as some slight consolation in your bereavement—that in what you have seen to-day you can recognize a splendid manifestation of the Church's power, and evidence of her Divine energy and authority, and a noble sacrifice for God's honour and glory. Call upon them cheerfully to submit to the share imposed upon them in the sacrifice, and thus partake of the homage that it pays. Tell them that it was not until further opposition would have stepped beyond the bounds of duty, until a series of providential dispositions—ripened into certainty by the authoritative word of Christ's Vicar on earth—convinced us that it was the holy will of God, that we ceased our efforts to continue his useful labours in the midst of us. It pleased, moreover, the Divine goodness to permit the final decision to take place while I was at Rome, and I felt myself compelled to bow to it in resignation, as to a decision beyond appeal.

The right rev. preacher then addressed the newly consecrated Bishop in these touching words:—

I will not dwell upon the conquests which I trust await you. No; this day, that you are putting on the armour of your spiritual contests, we must speak rather of their hardship. For well I know that they who enter upon the charge conferred on you this day must prepare their souls for much tribulation and sorrow, gilded though they

be by the dignity that accompanies them. For the golden cross upon your breast will too often heave with the throbs of an aching heart. Day after day expect to meet disappointment of past promises, and anxiety for future results, and cheerless toil for the present moment. Yet repine not at a lot which, before us, was that of the Son of God. Place it then this day at the foot of His Cross, lay your sacrifice upon that altar on which you will daily renew your strength.

Truly applicable to all who bear the episcopal burden, in the case of Bishop Willson these words were almost prophetic. He had not only to encounter great embarrassments for many years in the temporal affairs of his diocese, and that solely owing to the neglect of certain engagements made to him before his consecration, to which the writer was a witness, and which were promised to be fulfilled before he reached the colony, but he suffered a most wearing solicitude owing to the false systems and the short-sighted policy that for a long time withheld many of his best efforts to ameliorate the condition of the convicts, and, though he finally succeeded, it broke down his strong constitution.

Soon after his consecration the Bishop set out for Rome to pay his homage to the Sovereign Pontiff and secure his blessing on himself and his distant diocese. Passing through France and Italy, he made it a point to visit as many institutions connected with the treatment of the imprisoned and the insane as he could, and took notes of what might be useful. On a subsequent visit to Rome he endeavoured to get into the Roman prisons, but entirely failed until he got an order from the Pontiff. He found them in a very unsatisfactory state, drew up a report upon their condition and requirements, placed it before the Pope, and thenceforth Pius IX. became a zealous prison reformer.

This visit to Rome, another to Ireland, and other business delayed him in Europe more than a year. Having secured three zealous priests for the convict establishments, among whom was Dr. Hall, who became his valuable Vicar-general, he arranged with a vessel for his departure. His friends objecting to that vessel, he waited for another. It sailed without him, and was never heard of again. Here we cannot resist inserting a few lines from the farewell letter of his old friend and Bishop, Dr. Walsh, expressive as it is of the interior character of that venerable man :—

You, my ever dear friend, must feel happy from the purity of your intentions, and the holy sacrifice of all earthly attachments with which you have given yourself to God and to your poor, distressed fellow-creatures! He will grant you light, fortitude, and love to conduct you safely through apparent difficulties. It seems to me that I could make myself as happy in accompanying you to Van Diemen's Land as remaining in England. I would cheerfully obey an order

from Rome to that effect. The way to heaven is quite as short from Hobart Town as from Nottingham. The first point is to know and to do the adorable Will of Heaven. The love of God will powerfully assist you in taking leave of your earthly relatives and friends in England. *Deus meus et omnia.* Adieu, my dear friend, till we meet.

In January 1844 the Bishop set sail in the ship *Bella Marina*, and after a voyage of ninety-four days reached his destination. Soon after, he sailed from Hobart Town to Sydney, distant 1000 miles, to confer with the Archbishop on the affairs of his diocese, and after his return set to work in earnest. Tasmania—then called Van Diemen's Land—is an island of about the same extent as Ireland. Its aboriginal population had been entirely destroyed by the colonists in what was called the Black War before the Bishop arrived. Their chief food was the kangaroo, which was being rapidly consumed or destroyed by the settlers; their hunting-grounds were also taken possession of, and they could not move back into a far interior as in the other colonies. They had very imperfect notions of property in animals, and took the sheep of the settlers in return for their kangaroos. This led to frequent conflicts, which were finally brought to an end by the Government forming a cordon across the island, and driving the blacks into a corner, where, with the exception of a few who escaped through the line, they were all slaughtered. The remaining few were later got together and transferred to an island in Bass's Straits, where, though supported by the Government, they gradually died off.

Among the white population the Catholics of Tasmania were few as compared with those of New South Wales and Victoria. One cause of this was that neither emigrant nor convict ships were sent from Ireland to Tasmania until the year 1842. After that period the convicts from every part of the British Empire were sent to Tasmania or to Norfolk Island exclusively; and Norfolk Island, formerly under the Government of New South Wales, was placed under the Government of Tasmania, although at a distance from it of 1400 miles. It therefore came within the jurisdiction of the new Bishop. Besides Norfolk Island, there was another penal settlement at Port Arthur and another on Maria Island.

The Bishop states in a pamphlet published in 1860 that the free population of Tasmania amounted to 30,000 souls, and that the convicts amounted to an equal number. He found but three priests on the island, and the three who went out with him were especially intended for the penal establishments. These were increased to nine later on. The Bishop's own work among the convicts he has himself described in the pamphlet just quoted, as follows:—

That my friends may have some knowledge of my peculiar mission

in the convict department, I will briefly give an outline of the system, which commenced in 1843. On the arrival of a convict ship, the unhappy prisoners were located in large prison stations in various parts of the island, and subjected to hard labour and prison discipline for terms regulated by their original sentences. Thus all men were reduced to one level—the learned and those of gentle birth with the illiterate and low-born. The next step was that of being assigned to masters as servants. When that period of service had been gone through satisfactorily, tickets of leave were granted, so that convicts could engage with employers and receive whatever wages they could obtain until they became free.

Nine Catholic clergymen and two Catholic schoolmasters were employed and paid by the imperial Government. Other Catholic clergymen were remunerated according to the services rendered. Religious books were amply supplied, and every facility rendered for the due performance of Divine services and spiritual attendance on the convicts. In fact, there has been a perfect equality with the other Church, which has, as a matter of course, secured the greatest concord and good feeling with those employed, and the most happy result in those who were the objects of their solicitude.

This state of things, however, was not what the Bishop found, as will presently be seen, but what in the course of years he brought about. He goes on to say :—

My duties appeared to be these—to visit ships on their arrival, address all convicts of my religion, warn them of what they should avoid, and encourage them to follow that course which experience had convinced me would prove beneficial to them ; on landing, again visit them in their different locations as often as feasible ; encourage them, remonstrate with them, hear their grievances—oftentimes too well founded, sometimes not—and reprove sternly, when necessity required, the obstinate and hardened. These visits gave me an insight into the working of the system all over the colony, and afforded excellent opportunities for comparing the success of one station with another, and also of ascertaining what changes it would be judicious for the Government to make. I also considered it to be necessary to pay great attention to those unhappy men who fell into great crimes, and who were condemned to forfeit their lives for their offences. By carrying out this plan, I had ample means of becoming acquainted with what was taking place from the time a ship arrived in harbour with its freight of criminals, to the time they became free, or expiated an offence on the scaffold.

On the arrival of a female convict ship the women were transferred to the hulk of an old eighty-gun ship, and were there retained until assigned to service. Against this system the Bishop made strong representations to the Government. He pointed out the unsuitableness of such a prison for women, and the impossibility of there teaching them that domestic work

to fit them for service, and for becoming ultimately wives and mothers, of which that class of women were commonly ignorant. In course of time his representations prevailed, and they were placed in an establishment on shore. The convict men and boys on arrival were sent to probation gangs, which numbered from three to four hundred each; there were also parties detached from them of fifty or sixty men together. In these gangs men and youths of every degree of character and sentence were mixed together, under the control of a superintendent, overseers, and a guard of soldiers. They built their own wooden huts, raised produce for their food, and made roads and bridges for the use of the settlers. One large gang worked in coal mines. Another was stationed on Maria Island. Before leaving England the Bishop had arranged with the Secretary for the Colonies that the Catholics should be stationed in separate gangs for the sake of religious influence, and that one priest should have spiritual charge of every two such gangs; but this was resisted by the colonial authorities, and not carried out. On the contrary, the Bishop found that men of all religions or of none were assembled together every morning for the same brief prayers, which was greatly objected to by the Catholics. But the Bishop induced the Comptroller-General of Convicts to regulate that the Catholics should assemble on a separate part of the ground.

On visiting these gangs the first thing that struck the Bishop was the extreme impropriety of night arrangements for these men. They were locked up at night in wooden huts, each containing from twenty to fifty men, sleeping on shelves one above another, without any proper division between them. A light was burnt, but the men often blew it out. He went into these places at night after the men were locked up, not only to examine the arrangements, but to test the atmosphere, which he often found very bad. Another bad feature of the system was the employment of convict overseers, men for whom the criminals had no respect, who had no influence over them, and who, if zealous for discipline, were in danger of their own lives. On all these evils he made persistent representations to the governing authorities until he succeeded in obtaining many ameliorations.

He gradually obtained the principle of personal separation at night everywhere. He says in his evidence before a Committee of the Lords in 1847 :—

My recommendation was complied with to a great extent; and I think I may observe that I scarcely ever went into the Comptroller's room but the first thing he said to me, before I came to the table was, "Bishop, there are fifty cells for you," or "twenty cells for you," knowing that that would be the first thing I should mention to him, and which would please me most to hear.

With respect to convict overseers he never ceased to recommend both to the colonial and the imperial Governments that they should be removed, and free men, even from England if necessary, and in greater numbers, should be put in their place.

It may be taken for a certainty that, when criminals are constantly thrown together, the best among them as a rule will be corrupted down to the level of the worst. The more the Bishop inquired among the men, the more certain he became that the worst evils among them were introduced by the men sent into their midst from Norfolk Island. He determined, therefore, to embark for that distant island, and examine for himself. A Government vessel was placed at his disposal, and after a voyage of 1400 miles he landed there in May 1846. Norfolk Island is about seven miles long by four and a half broad. It stands isolated in mid ocean at a distance of some 500 miles from the nearest point of New Zealand; it has no harbour, is of difficult access by boats, but when reached is seen to be one of the most beautiful spots in the creation. It was made a penal settlement in 1826. This prison of horrors was never visited by any minister of religion until 1835. Father Therry, who was so many years alone in New South Wales, once or twice sent a pious layman the long voyage to attend at executions. But in the year 1835 one of the judges of New South Wales held a court there for the trial of fifty convicts for conspiracy, insurrection, and a conflict with the troops. In that same year the present writer and an Anglican clergyman, the Rev. Mr. Stiles, went to the island to attend the execution of eleven of these men. We made a similar visit together two years later. But there was neither priest nor minister stationed there until the year 1838.

Horrible as was the state of things that we found there in 1835, eleven years later Bishop Willson found it incredibly worse. For after Captain Maconochie's humane experiments had failed, a coercive system was substituted that consisted of nothing beyond external, most oppressive, and brutalizing force. The Bishop shall state his first experience in his own words as given to the Committee of Lords in the following year:—

I never saw men in such a state as they were in when I first landed, so much so that I could not call any portion of my flock together to address them; I thought it prudent not to force the thing, but I spent three or four days in visiting them at their work or when they were at their meals, and they gathered around me in knots of ten, twenty, thirty, or forty, and they stated the grievances under which they were labouring. I then reasoned with them, and appealed to them as sensible men whether the mode of conduct they had adopted, or might, would

remedy the evils which existed ; and in three or four days it is impossible for me to describe to your lordships the extraordinary change which took place among those men ; they were as quiet as lambs.

There were 1900 convicts on the island at the time, and the more the Bishop examined into their treatment the more horrified he was, and the more astounded at the irrational folly of such treatment. His description of the convicts in his celebrated letter to Sir William Denison, Governor of Tasmania, must be here very much abridged :—

Gloom, sullen despondency, despair of leaving the island, seemed to be the general condition of the men's minds. . . . Nearly every man I conversed with conjured me to procure an examination of the records, and judge for myself if the terrible punishments which had been administered had not been inflicted chiefly for mere breaches of discipline, and very many of them of a minor character ; they also added, frequently on the sole word of a convict spy or a convict constable.

The Bishop was especially struck with the spectacle of the number of men carrying chains as a disciplinary punishment, both at work and when carrying burdens. Some were of fourteen pounds weight, some even of thirty-six pounds. Specimens were exhibited by the Bishop to the Committee of Lords, now in the Oscott Museum, that weighed forty-seven pounds. Some were even in manacles, with their hands held apart by cross-bars, thus held in a frame of iron. Of 270 convicts that attended the Bishop's service on Sunday, only 52 were without chains.

As the Comptroller of Convicts asserted to the Governor that there had not been much flogging in the island of late, the Bishop replied that on the Monday before his arrival thirty-nine men from the settlement had been flogged, and fourteen more from the farm of Longridge the next day.

The remarks [he adds] that I could not help hearing from free and bond respecting the time consumed in the infliction of that day's punishment—the state of the yard from the blood running down men's backs, mingled with the water used in washing them when taken down from the triangle—the degrading scene of a large number of men standing in the outer yard waiting in their turn to be tortured, and the more humiliating spectacle presented by those who had undergone the scourging, especially towards the end of this melancholy business, were painful to listen to, and now raise a blush when I reflect that by a rational system pursued and judicious management in Van Diemen's Land not one lash has been inflicted for many, perhaps not for twelve, months. Either the system pursued in Van Diemen's Land is very unsound, or that on Norfolk Island.

Another mode of punishment was what was called the spread-

eagle, by which men's arms were painfully stretched out to ring-bolts. Another was the tube-gag, inserted into a man's mouth and fastened with straps, that often caused the mouth to foam and bleed. This was a punishment for violent, profane, or obscene language. The Bishop obtained an able medical opinion on the dangers attending the use of this instrument, and earnestly recommended solitary confinement in place of it. But the worst of these evils, reducing men to utter desperation, was the extension of time beyond the original sentence. John Smith is transported for ten years to Van Diemen's Land. He there transgresses anew, and is sent to Norfolk Island. Whilst there he is sentenced by a magistrate to three months in chains. This last sentence adds three months more to his ten years of transportation. But, in addition to this, three months more are exacted for probation, so that this magistrate's sentence gives him six months more on Norfolk Island, though only three months more added to his original sentence. Against this system of cumulative sentences the Bishop never rested voice or pen until it was abolished.

And what was the chief cause of these floggings, chains, spread-eagles, and extension of original sentences? The Bishop made every inquiry to get at the truth, and in his letter to the Governor, which, at his request was laid before the Home Government, he says:—

I was struck with deep satisfaction to find that the charges of deep moral guilt were comparatively few. The chief source of the convicts' misery has sprung from tobacco. Each man, it appears, has been allowed one stick of tobacco, about an ounce, each week, and is permitted to smoke or chew it in the lumber-yard only, at the time allowed for meals. During my visit a board hung up there with the names of more than two hundred men who were prohibited the use of tobacco. The prohibition of it for a time—I believe six months—forms part of the punishment when men are convicted of using it contrary to the regulations. In the convict class there is a desire for the use of tobacco that would astonish any one not accustomed to their habits. On Norfolk Island the monotony, the warmth of the climate, the wearisome and unvarying routine of a strictly ultra-penal settlement, and the coarse, insipid, though wholesome food combine to render the stimulant of tobacco intensely grateful to those unfortunate men. One of the principal charges, as far as I could learn, for which punishment has been so prevalent and severe was for having tobacco in their possession or chewing it out of the lumber-yard. To ascertain the latter fact, I am told it is not unfrequent for them to be seized by the throat and have the mouth examined. If the stain, or "track," as it is called, of the tobacco be seen, or be supposed to be seen, a charge is made against them the next court-day. It is said that convict constables are in the habit of making such examination, and, if the charge

is denied by the accused, this convict is put on his oath. Then, again, if a man upon the prohibited list receives a morsel of tobacco from a fellow-convict, both, if detected, are liable to receive punishment.

Here is nothing involving moral guilt, nothing to warrant the infliction of the lash, the loading with chains, solitude in irons, or extension of sentence. But, as the Bishop observes, Norfolk Island had become a manufactory of petty offences arising out of tobacco, calculated to perpetuate sentences, degrade the prisoner, and subject Her Majesty's Government to great expense.

There was another evil similar to that, against which the Bishop had contended with such vehemence and success in Tasmania, but which had risen to a far greater pitch in Norfolk Island. It was an evil of old standing, and the writer may be permitted to state that he found the same state of things in 1835, drew up a report on the subject, and laid it before Sir Richard Bourke, the Governor of New South Wales, proposed a plan for its correction, and pressed for its adoption. But as it implied a considerable and immediate expenditure, it was laid on the shelf; it required the exceptional influence, energy, and perseverance of a man like Bishop Willson to bring about the much needed reform. He found the men locked up at night from eight o'clock till five, sixty or eighty in each ward, without separation, light, or watchmen, and the military guard outside placed at a distance, which he measured, of 120 feet from the doors. Over the moral results we must draw the thickest and darkest veil. Suffice it to say that the Bishop's representations to the colonial and imperial Governments, backed by Sir William Denison, ultimately obtained a thorough reformation of this part of the system.

The military on the island were horrified at what they saw of the sufferings of the convicts, and on one occasion, when a corporal's guard was marching past, the soldiers detached one of their number to let the Bishop know that a man had just been condemned to severe punishment for stealing a bit of bread. This, as the Bishop represented, was a dangerous state of things. Major Harold, an admirable officer, who had command of the troops, after a conversation with the Bishop, lifting up his hands, exclaimed, "For God's sake, go home, and let the British Government know the truth." This the Bishop resolved to do. On his return to Hobart Town he laid the whole state of things before the Governor and the Comptroller-General, recommended that 500 of the men be removed from the island without delay, and proposed his remedies for the evils which he described. He then set sail on the long voyage to England, and arrived in the middle of the year 1847. He has himself recorded with grateful feelings with what respectful attention he was listened to, both by Her Majesty's Government and by the special Committee of

the House of Lords. In that Committee, after he had gone into the horrors of Norfolk Island, Lord Brougham, the chairman, put to him this question : " You think that no amount of necessity of deterring crime will justify a Christian nation in continuing such a punishment ? " To which the Bishop answered : " I resolved to take this long voyage in order that I might lay the matter before my Lord Stanley, whom I supposed to be in office, for I was quite sure he would hear me, and to beseech him, upon my knees if it were necessary, that an end should be put to it."

Asked if the men had a dread of capital punishment, he replied, " I think not ; they have very little fear of death." He then said :—

I think it most unfortunate that sentences are so often passed on men who are not to be executed, and on men who ought not to be executed. Twelve men were condemned on Norfolk Island a very few months since. It appeared to me most appalling that that sentence should be executed. I knew several of the men, and have conversed with them. I knew two or three of them intimately, and I am inclined to think that there were great grades in their guilt ; and for twelve men to be put to death in one morning, and I believe some more afterwards, appears to me a most awful fact. And in truth I think that, if an investigation were to take place, the crime committed by these men would be shown to arise from a long series of mis-government and want of proper regulations on the island.

After visiting Rome, where he received great sympathy and encouragement from Pius IX. and a special recommendation to devote himself above all to the unhappy prisoners, and after a second visit to Ireland, Bishop Willson set sail anew for Hobart Town, which he reached in December 1847. He had not been long returned before he heard on all sides that things were worse instead of better at Norfolk Island. He determined to see for himself, and applied to the Governor, Sir William Denison, for a Government vessel, for which there was a standing order from the Home Government whenever he might require one. When he got on board, he was surprised to find the Comptroller-General of Convicts there, ready to accompany him. Though they were good friends, yet he felt that this had for one object to watch his proceedings. In the course of his investigations, the Comptroller gave the Bishop a hint that he thought he was too free in speaking with the men.

What, sir [replied the Bishop], do you mean that I, a Catholic Bishop, do not know how to conduct myself with these unhappy men ? I will now tell you that, as on my last visit I recommended 500 of them to be removed immediately, I have now come to the conclusion that the whole should be removed, and the establishment

broken up. It is too far removed from the seat of Government; the men who have the control of these unfortunates get too hardened; every system tried has failed, to the great vexation and disappointment of Her Majesty's Government.

The Comptroller was thunderstruck. This anecdote came to the writer from the Bishop's own lips.

No sooner had he returned to Hobart Town than he drew up that long and thrilling statement, replete all through with strong sense, addressed to Sir William Denison, which he requested to be forwarded to the Home Government, and of which the final conclusion was expressed in these words :—"With this conscientious conviction on my mind, I feel it to be my imperative duty to conjure your Excellency to advise Her Majesty's Government to direct a total abandonment of the island as a penal settlement with as little delay as possible." Meanwhile, he recommended to his Excellency the adoption of certain measures to secure order on the island until the determination of Her Majesty's Government should be made known. These were—(1) To place a resident magistrate on the island to try all cases, and that in conjunction with another when a case in law required, and that all charges be investigated three times a week. (2) That there be an inspection of all convicts in gaol, hospital, or other buildings once a fortnight. (3) That the Commandant, the civil magistrate, the military commander, the military medical officer, and the officer in command of the Royal Engineers and Commissariat Department should form the Board. (4) That each member of the Board should be empowered to visit any building where convicts are confined whenever he pleases, not to give directions, except in conjunction with the Board. (5) That an entire copy of the reports be transmitted to his Excellency every six months. Lastly, he would repeat the suggestion that, as Mr. Price, the Commandant, was anxious to leave on account of ill-health, Mr. Champ should be requested immediately to proceed to the island and to take the charge. The Bishop then enters into the exceptional qualifications of that gentleman, and gives his reasons for believing that no one could be found more suitable. Mr. Champ became later on the Comptroller-General of Convicts in Tasmania, and the Bishop has given the highest testimony to his efficiency and humanity in that important office.

The zealous prelate next applied for the official returns of all punishments inflicted in Norfolk Island from a certain date, the grounds of their infliction, and the prolongations of original sentences which followed them. This had been refused in Norfolk Island, and was now again evaded, through the course of a considerable correspondence. But Dr. Willson was not a man

to be vanquished by red tape. He requested the Comptroller to place the correspondence before the Governor, and then requested the Governor to send it with his other letters on Norfolk Island to Her Majesty's Secretary of State. This was done. The Governor supported the Bishop's recommendations, and the result was that the imperial Government began to take measures for removing all the convicts from Norfolk Island, and in a few years that penal settlement was abandoned for ever. After the Bishop's letters were received in Downing Street, the Duke of Newcastle, then Colonial Secretary, in a letter to Sir William Denison of August 3, 1853, testified to the esteem in which the Bishop should be held by the civil Government, in these words :—

Dr. Willson's general services to those placed under his spiritual care have, I believe, been fully recognized by those who are best able to appreciate them. But the zeal and abilities which he has displayed under circumstances of a more peculiar kind, when it became his duty to investigate and to combat the great social evils at one time developed under the then prevailing system of convict discipline, deserves more special notice from those concerned in the administration of the civil government.

But the final breaking up of the settlement of Norfolk Island was a work of time ; and in 1849 the Bishop again visited the island, and on his return placed a most satisfactory report before the Governor. The men in the wards were separated at night from all personal communication, lights were left burning, and the wards were perambulated by watchmen under proper superintendents. Many of the convicts told him they could now have a good night's rest after their day's work. Instead of only one priest, two were placed on the island, as he had recommended, and also two Anglican clergymen. The evening-schools had given him heartfelt pleasure, for it had been found, both there and in Tasmania, that more evil was done in the idle hours between working and sleeping time than in all the rest of the day. Great improvements had taken place in the quality and method of issuing food, so that each prisoner got his fair allowance, and that in a cleanly and orderly manner. He had also great pleasure in declaring his satisfaction and even edification at finding the perfect unanimity that existed among the whole staff of officials, whether civil, military, or clerical.

But he had still to deplore the employment of convict constables and overseers—an evil of very great magnitude. He had equally to regret the continuing of cumulative sentences given for petty breaches of discipline, generally on the word of a convict overseer, for by this system hope was destroyed, and

what was misnamed discipline became an unwise and vicious irritation.

In his pamphlet of 1860 the Bishop says:—

Attempts were made more than once to introduce similar modes of punishment [to those on Norfolk Island] in Tasmania, but a firm representation to the proper quarter at once put a check on such shameful efforts. Certain tragical events which soon followed the last correspondence [his own about Norfolk Island] confirmed the correctness of the grounds on which I ventured to state my fears. It is melancholy to reflect that at this very moment Tasmania is suffering from the effects generated long ago in Norfolk Island, chiefly arising from systems at variance with common-sense, but ludicrously called penal discipline; and now we are perhaps too apt to censure men for crime, instead of reflecting on the share of blame that lies at the door of those who propounded such pernicious systems or suffered them to be carried out.

We have no space at disposal in which to record the various other reforms which this energetic Bishop obtained through his influence, or accomplished by his representations, in the penal discipline of Tasmania. Nor can we enter into the able administration of his diocese, or speak of his clear, terse, vigorous, and most practically instructive pastoral letters. Neither can we go into those bundles of correspondence with officials in which he brought to their cognizance special cases of hardship or injustice, and which are so characteristic of his untiring humanity.

There is one subject, however, on which we must say a word, as indicative of his keen insight into what was irritating instead of healing. It was an old custom in our time to cut off the hair of convict women of the worst description as a punishment, and we could record terrible scenes of violence that resulted from this practice in New South Wales. But in Tasmania this was done to all women sent into prison for punishment, to free emigrants as well as convicts, even for short sentences of, say, seven or fourteen days. The Bishop made strong representations to the Governor on the subject, pointing out how it marked these women for long to come, degraded them, and hindered them from obtaining either service or marriage. The Governor could not believe this was done to free women upon short sentences. The Bishop proved it by a number of cases. The Comptroller of Convicts forbade it. It was still done, and the Bishop proved it was still done, even contrary to orders. Then the Comptroller forbade its being done either to bond or free under the severest penalties.

His eye was upon every abuse; his voice was raised against every custom that vitiated instead of reforming. No one

better knew the value of firm and consistent discipline for men under penal sentences, when consonant with reason ; no one saw the mischief more keenly when there was no appeal to men's sense of reason and justice. To treat men like wild animals was to make them such. His soul was in the fire of anguish over every human misery imposed by irrational treatment. So long as that misery bred vice he could not rest in silence. His influence in time grew to a great power. His counsels obtained their value from the effects that followed their adoption ; and whenever they were opposed or resisted, that never altered either his mildness or his courtesy. The addresses presented to him by the chief officers of Government, the judges, the members of the Legislature, and by gentlemen of all denominations, when he either sailed for England or returned to the colony, bore witness to the esteem in which he was held, and to the value attached to his services. The most striking testimony is given, especially by the superintendents of the convicts, to "the mingled gratitude, respect, and affection with which those unhappy creatures regarded his lordship." It was said that even the worst of them, who otherwise never used the name of God except profanely, were wont to exclaim, "God bless Bishop Willson!" The Commandant of Port Arthur writes :—

Many a hardened, reckless convict has through your missionary zeal and Howard-like philanthropy, been awakened to a sense of his unhappy position, and induced to enter upon an amended career, whereby he has manifested a disposition to act rationally and conform to discipline whilst he was under my charge, and has ultimately become a respectable member of society.

There was one class of sufferers for whom Dr. Willson's sympathy was unbounded—the sufferers from mental disease ; and of these there were many in the Australian colonies, especially of the convict class. Bringing great knowledge and experience from England and the Continent to the cure of these maladies, he devoted himself with untiring zeal to the amelioration of the systems prevailing in the three principal colonies, those of Tasmania, Victoria, and New South Wales. On the passing of an Act constituting a Board of Commissioners to superintend the asylum of New Norfolk in Tasmania, the Bishop was requested to join the Board, and he continued a member of it until his final departure in 1865. He was much dissatisfied with the buildings and their arrangements, and exerted himself to have them superseded by an establishment on another site, which he pointed out, which was nearer to Hobart, and on a scale more in keeping with modern improvements. He so far succeeded that in 1859 the Government decided upon the change. But interests other

than those of the insane were brought to bear on the Government, which resulted in retaining the old establishment with such improvements in the buildings as to remedy the defects complained of by the Bishop. On his departure from the colony the Board presented him with an address in testimony of "his long, devoted and unsparing attention to the management of the insane, and to the advantages they had derived from the enlightened, humane, and practical views of his lordship on every question affecting the treatment of the patients." The medical superintendent, Dr. Houston, also "desired to express his individual obligations to his lordship for the great assistance he had derived from his suggestions, advice, and personal influence in the immediate management of the institute."

Visiting Melbourne in 1856, Dr. Willson was struck with amazement at the progress almost every project had made, and was especially delighted with the noble hospital for the sick, and with its medical and domestic arrangements. But in going through the lunatic asylum, to use the words of his letter to the Secretary of the colony, he found much to deplore, and, according to his wont in such cases, he made his views known to the Victorian Government. Returning to Melbourne in 1858, and finding it was contemplated to erect a new asylum in a position already selected, he again addressed the Government, utterly condemning the position chosen, and pointing out another, about a quarter of a mile distant from the first, as possessing every advantage. The Bishop closed his letter to the Honourable Chief Secretary with these words, words expressive of his inmost feelings confirmed by his great experience :—

I believe the comfort of very many of our fellow-creatures for years to come, whether curable or incurable, to say nothing of the feelings of relatives and friends, will depend on the fixing the site of this intended asylum—I ought rather to say hospital for the cure of infirm minds; and sound policy, as well as humanity, will dictate the propriety of indulging the hope, and making the effort, that each one who may be afflicted with perhaps the heaviest of human infirmities, may be relieved, or, by proper treatment in a proper place, restored to sorrowing friends and to sweet liberty. And allow me to add, from my own experience in watching over the treatment of the insane, from the highest class in society to the lowest, I believe it would be wrong to despair of the recovery of any one, however desperate the case might appear.

One clear idea, waken'd in the breast  
By Memory's magic, lets in all the rest."

This letter was submitted to a Royal Commission, and the Bishop had the gratification of being informed that its suggestions were unanimously adopted. Circumstances, however, arose that endangered the decision, and the Bishop returned to the charge in a long and elaborate letter addressed to the *Melbourne Medical Journal*, and this had the desired effect. The *Melbourne Press* ascribed the final decision of the balance to the "subdued yet eloquent letter of Bishop Willson."

But his severest conflicts were for the reform of the lunacy hospitals in New South Wales. We have all the documents relating to that arduous business—as laid before the Legislative Assembly—before us. There was one asylum at Tarban Creek, on the Parramatta River, with 900 patients, the erection of which we well remember; there was another, for incurables, at Parramatta, which we remember when it was the female factory. The Bishop addressed a letter to the colonial Secretary, in which he strongly complained of the gloominess of the Tarban Creek Asylum and of the depressing influence of the Parramatta Asylum. This letter was made the basis of an examination before a Special Committee of the Legislative Assembly, in which the Bishop brought all the weight of his experience to bear upon the questions in agitation. Many of his most valuable suggestions for the proper management of the insane are to be found in that evidence. He recommended the Committee to consult by writing some of the most able and experienced medical superintendents of asylums in England, and to obtain some of the best plans and arrangements, recognized as such, from England. The medical superintendent of Tarban Creek naturally defended himself. The Medical Psychological Society of England took up the Bishop's side of the question in more than one number of their *Journal of Mental Science*, and invited him to become an honorary member of their body. We have no evidence before us of the ultimate result; all that we can find is the testimony borne by the *Sydney Herald* "to the dignity of the personal character of the Catholic Bishop of Hobart Town, who, by a life of benevolence on behalf of the insane, is entitled to be received as an authority."

By the year 1859 the Bishop began seriously to feel the effect of his arduous labours on his constitution, and applied to the Holy See for a Coadjutor. The Very Rev. Dr. Butler, the pious and zealous pastor of Launceston, was appointed to that office in 1860, but in his humility he declined the episcopate. Meanwhile, the Bishop wrote a letter to the Duke of Newcastle, Secretary of State for the Colonies, requesting a retiring pension in

consideration of his civil services to the Government. He might still remain, he stated, and receive the stipend now granted, but in a land like that the greatest activity of mind and body was required to fulfil the arduous duties of his position. Sir William Denison, then Governor-General of the Australian Colonies, wrote to him a letter bearing the strongest testimony to his zeal in favour of the criminal classes ; "though," he adds, "a more hopeless task could not be imposed on any man than that of remedying the evils ingrained upon the convicts by years of neglect on the part of others and self-indulgence on their own, yet you still struggled manfully in your vocation, and I hope with the success that your efforts deserved." On the other hand, the Bishop has borne a great testimony to Sir William Denison's firm, just, impartial, and humane government of the convict department ; and asserts that "for some years previous to his departure from the island not one convict had been subject to the odious lash."

It will scarcely be believed that the Duke of Newcastle, who had known the Bishop's merits from his Nottingham days, and had expressed to the colonial authorities how highly they ought to appreciate Dr. Willson's civil services, in his reply to his petition for a retiring pension, wrote to Sir H. E. F. Young, the then Governor of Tasmania, in these terms :—" You will signify to the Bishop my full sense of the respect due to his character and merits, but you will at the same time express my regret that it would be impossible to assign to him from imperial funds a pension, which could only be granted to an officer of the convict department and servant of the imperial Government." Truly red tape is as rigorous as those iron fetters taken by the Bishop from so many human limbs. Putting aside every moral and politic consideration, on the mere ground of economy the expenditure saved to the imperial Government by the Bishop was enormous.

It was still five years before the Bishop was able to leave the colony. Off Cape Horn he was struck with paralysis. At the end of the voyage he had to be carried ashore at Blackwall. This took place in June 1865. He made the official resignation of his See, and on June 22, 1866, the Holy See translated him from the bishopric of Hobart Town to that of Rhodiopolis *in partibus*. He was succeeded at Hobart Town by the Right Rev. Dr. Murphy, who was transferred from the vicariate of Hydrabad.

The end of his holy and eventful life was now at hand. He was conveyed whither his heart attracted him—among his old flock and devoted friends at Nottingham. There was a priest in that town whom he had himself led to the sanctuary ; to him he entrusted both his temporal and spiritual affairs. He had lost the memory of past things, and had no longer the power to

read, but was cheerful, still clear-headed, and vigorous in mind in all that concerned his present duties. At his request there was read to him each day a meditation morning and evening, a portion of sacred Scripture, the Life of the Saint of the day, and a chapter in the "Following of Christ." He thus kept up his pious customs. The day before he departed he assisted at Mass and received Holy Communion. That day he had another stroke, and became speechless. That night his sacerdotal friend secretly entered his room, found him absorbed in prayer, and withdrew unobserved. The following day his friends came round him, and the Rev. Mr. Sibthorpe gave him the Extreme Unction. On that same day, the 30th of June 1866, he calmly expired. His remains repose in the crypt of the Cathedral Church of St. Barnabas, the church which he had raised, and which he loved so well.

"Wisdom conducted the just one through the right ways, and showed him the Kingdom of God, and gave him the knowledge of holy things, made him honourable in his labours, and accomplished in his works."

✠ W. B. ULLATHORNE.

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## ART. II.—THE THRONE OF THE FISHERMAN.

*The Throne of the Fisherman, built by the Carpenter's Son : The Root, the Bond, and the Crown of Christendom.* By THOS. W. ALLIES, K.C.S.G. London : Burns & Oates. 1887.

ST. AUGUSTINE has chronicled his wonder that men should be struck rather with a single miraculous phenomenon than with a fact which is above the mere power of nature, but is still often repeated. He applies this to the miraculous increase of loaves and fishes, and yet, he says, no man wonders at the ever-recurring miracle of the seasons, at the corn and wine which are multiplied for us by the same loving Hand. To carry this comparison into our own times, we may observe the tendency men have to be surprised rather by strange phenomena than by fact. In the early part of this century two favoured servants of God were honoured by the highest graces of the mystical life. They had stood the test of the rigid examination to which the Church submits these paths unfrodden by ordinary feet. The one, Maria Mörl, spent her days in communing with the unseen world, and

was called the Estatica ; the other, Domenica Lazzari, known as the Addolorata, bore in her body the awful wounds of the Crucified.

An Anglican, who has since become famous as the first lawyer of his day, once made the observation with regard to these women : "If it is as people say, Rome *must* be true." Another Anglican, the author of "*The Throne of the Fisherman*," resolved to bring his eyes and mind and reasoning faculties to bear upon the matter, and visited the Tyrol. Both cases approved themselves to a critical judgment, and it followed that Rome, or rather the Catholic Church, is true. And what of the facts above the order of Nature with which that Church abounds ? If they exist, as people and the evidence of our senses tell us, then she is true. They correspond to the ceaseless wonders in the physical world of which St. Augustine spoke : light, air, animal growth, birth, and death—these have their parallels in the Church, which are as difficult to explain ; but on the other hand, they are, like the elements, perpetual witnesses to an ever-present Divine power. If, therefore, instead of saying, " If the Addolorata really has the stigmata, then Rome must be true," the Anglican had thought to himself, " If Peter, a fisherman, really occupied a throne by the Divine dispensation, then I will seek for that throne in all spiritual regions till I find it," he would have marked out the greater wonder of the two. Which, to speak in our language, is the more difficult to God : to raise up during thirty-three years a human being who is to bear in her body the marks of the Passion, or to make a fisherman the founder of a royal dynasty which is to last as long as the world ? The phenomenon pales before the fact.

This is what was in Mr. Allies' mind when he undertook to trace Peter's primacy from the beginning of the Christian era, and when he called that primacy "the Root, the Bond, and the Crown of Christendom." The volume before us, of 549 pages in octavo, is in fact the fifth of Mr. Allies' great work, "*The Formation of Christendom*," but it is complete and independent in itself. Taken together, the value of the subject is increased by the context, but viewed apart, each volume has an intrinsic worth of its own, and it was a happy thought to make so long a work capable of division. Mr. Allies is well known to be the special defender of the Primacy : in this fifth volume he surpasses himself. He recognizes three factors in the history of the Church up to the present day—a Divine Institution ; its recognition by the Church ; and the action of Divine Providence on the external world ; and he calls the common result of these factors "*The Throne of the Fisherman built by the Carpenter's Son*." He apportions the Christian era into eight periods, of which two

form the subject of the present volume. It is composed of eleven chapters, from the day of Pentecost in A.D. 29 to 461, the end of the pontificate of Pope St. Leo. The first chapter serves as an introduction to the whole subject ; the second and third treat, with a retrospective view, which is as complete as it is original, of the Primacy up to Constantine and the Council of Nicaea (325). They are followed by four equally instructive ones on Church and State under Constantine and his successors. Then the author reverts to the Primacy, and gives a general view of it from 380 till Pope St. Leo's accession in 440. Two exquisite chapters on the Fathers follow ; and the last, which is devoted to the splendid figure of St. Leo the Great, completes the volume.

The vastness of a result, contrasted with its obscure human cause, on which a great Father\* has rested so much as portraying the Divine action, has been nowhere more evident than in the Throne of Peter. Built by the Carpenter's Son, it was to share the fortunes of Him who was crucified and died in ignominy ; that is to say, no human element of power or greatness was to be shown in the building. Again, the title of this book, if fully borne out by its pages, is a protest against the large number of those without who think, honestly in many cases, that the Throne was never built at all, but a natural development of time and favourable circumstances. The building of the Throne is thus not a minor part of the Christian Church, but its very root. St. Chrysostom dwells with special pleasure on the supernatural calling of the twelve unlettered men who conquered the world, and were able to effect that which philosophers and orators had vainly tried to do.† So the chief of the Twelve (*Κορύφαιος*), as the same Father calls St. Peter, walked in the steps of his Lord, died the death of the cross, and yet, in virtue of the Divine words, feeds the sheep of the Christian pastures.

During the centuries of persecution the Acts of the Papacy were written in the Catacombs ; the records of that early Church have not come down to us, any more than the greater part of the Acts of the Martyrs ; yet both facts are equally indisputable, and he who denies the one might deny the other. What can be simpler than the words "depositus in pace ?" Still they reveal the fundamental truth of the Christian religion—belief in the resurrection of the body. Pope St. Clement's letter in A.D. 96 is much to the Primacy what "depositus in pace" was in the first Christian resting-places of the dead. While it dates from the lifetime of St. John the Evangelist, it "distinctly asserts and exercises the Roman Principate in the defence and judgment of

\* St. Chrysostom.

† See in particular *Λογος* III. and IV. *προς Κορινθίους* (Epist. 1).

Bishops.”\* After this utterance of St. Clement we have nothing beyond fragments of Papal documents till the letter of Pope Julius I. in 342, but we have the voice of facts. “What we see is the emergence,” at the end of the persecutions “of a power which the whole hierarchy recognises, to which no beginning can be given short of St. Peter himself; no warrant for its existence assigned save the authority given to him by Our Lord.”† Whilst

the Apostolic Principate received by Peter from the Lord was the root and womb of the whole hierarchy, not only in principle but in historic fact, the exercise of that Primacy was during these three centuries—as it has continued to be in every succeeding century—proportionate to the state and condition of the Church. Its action during the ages of persecution will be different from its action in a subsequent age, when the Roman State has acknowledged the Church; or, again from another period when the whole order of civil government has been interfered with by the wandering of the nations. Not everything which follows from the idea of the Primacy was actually drawn out in the first centuries, just as not every work which the Church was to do had then been actually done.‡

The Colisseum is a silent witness to the martyrs’ strife, and would perpetuate the memory of their sufferings with but scanty documents; and the act by which the first Christian emperor acknowledged Peter’s supremacy is also written in letters of stone. He recognized the living Peter by ceding the Lateran Palace to Pope Sylvester, and he also withdrew his own imperial presence from the city of the Popes. He laid over the dead Peter the foundation of earth’s stateliest basilica, and placed the Fisherman’s body in a gilded coffin, having on it a cross of pure gold, with the inscription: “Constantine Emperor, and Helena Empress. This dwelling a royal Court surrounds, bright with equal lustre.”§ Thus it was that the royal line of Peter succeeded the great Roman Empire, and that the Roman peace was carried out in the City of God. But the first great assembly of the Christian Church, as it issued from State bondage, was a public recognition of Peter’s claims. Alone of the Apostles he had founded a triple patriarchal chair. Rome, Alexandria, and Antioch, as Sees of Peter, held pre-eminence at Nicæa—that is, all power in the Church emanated from his person. The merit of “The Throne of the Fisherman” is to prove all along what it asserts, and to assert nothing which it cannot prove. That Council, which did not create but only recognized the Papal

\* “The Throne of the Fisherman,” p. 95.

† *Ibid.* p. 97.

‡ *Ibid.* p. 85.

§ *Ibid.* p. 41.

claims, was presided over by the Pope's legates, whose names headed the subscription to its decrees. Instead, as it were, of deciphering rude inscriptions in the Catacombs, the author has preferred to show the action of the first assembly of the Christian Body restored to light and freedom, and in doing this in a masterly way, he has illuminated the preceding period. Nicæa is to the primacy of Peter what the lost Acts of the Martyrs would be in the case of so many champions whose names are known only to God—a contemporaneous testimony which gives shape and form to a great fact. The Sees of Rome, Alexandria, and Antioch rested upon the person of the one Peter, as St. Gregory the Great noted long afterwards, but in this triple patriarchate of the chief Apostle Rome was supreme.

The rise of Christian Rome was a singular illustration of St. Chrysostom's argument, that God persuades by contraries ( $\deltaιὰ τῶν ἐναντίων πειθεῖν$ ). When Constantine had bestowed the Lateran Palace on Pope Sylvester, and provided a royal dwelling for the body of St. Peter, he withdrew his imperial presence from Rome, to build a city, which he called Nova Roma, after the pattern of the old ; and from that day the strength of heathen Rome began to depart, and a new glory dawned in that city which alone has been called eternal. As soon, therefore, as Constantine had acknowledged the Christian power, Divine Providence moved him to depart from a place which was to be the spiritual home and country of countless generations. Round the person of the Sovereign at Byzantium there raged the strong tide of human passions. Court favour bred worldly bishops, who gave the sanction of their name to the ignoble traditions of heresy and nationality in religion, who made Cæsar, not Peter, their centre of gravitation. Amongst Constantine's motives for departing, his sorrow at Rome's heathenism was one of the most prominent ; he wished to found a city which should be Christian from the first. What really took place is a striking illustration that the designs of Divine Providence are worked out by men in spite of themselves. No one has impugned Constantine's motives for leaving Rome, and yet just the contrary to what he had looked and hoped for came about. He founded, indeed, the lovely city which bears his name on a site unrivalled in the whole world as that of a capital, but the spiritual element was suffocated in the Court atmosphere. Christianity was never at home at that imperial Court; the advice of a courtier bishop marred the last days of the first Christian Emperor ; the unity which he had so much prized was broken up at his death, and his sons, with none of their father's genius, succeeded him. The very fact of the imperial birth of Nova Roma gave prominence to its See. The "deadly honour"

of "being member of the Court to a resident emperor" was reserved for the Bishop of Byzantium—that is to say, the value of hierarchy without an apostolic primate was clearly demonstrated. It is in human nature that bishops who come into close contact with an absolute Sovereign will give up their independence, and become willing slaves to State despotism, under the guise of courtly prelates in a State Church. Constantine was, in fact, not sufficiently imbued with the Christian spirit to succeed in founding a Christian city. He received baptism only at the eleventh hour, but Nova Roma was baptized from the first, so to say, in Arian baptism. The See of Byzantium was, as it were, the target at which courtly prelates aimed their arrows, and men of so worldly a spirit cared not at all for the purity of the faith, and fell easy victims to Arianism. Mr. Allies' pages concerning the sons of Constantine, and their successors down to Theodosius, are records of this strife amongst bishops as to who should be greater, not in the higher sense, but who should be the more favoured friend of Caesar. No trial, according to him, ever brought the Church nearer to the brink of that abyss over which she will never fall. There was, however, throughout all the cheerless time filled with the persecution of the righteous, Arian aggressiveness, and worldly factions in the Church of Nova Roma, another side to the picture. We shall revert farther on to the contrast presented by Rome, whose bishops were guarded by Divine Providence from the "deadly honour" of Court favour.

In the annals of imperial Arianism, Bishop Eusebius of Nicomedia, that first specimen of a "courtier bishop," stands out with melancholy notoriety. It was he who acted the part of evil councillor to Constantine, and who devised the weapon which would have proved deadly for any other than the Bride of Christ. This was an episcopal council, of which the members were chosen by the Emperor; its sittings were watched by an imperial officer, and its decrees, inflicting banishment at pleasure upon any bishop whatsoever, carried out by the secular arm. This device of Eusebius had been used against the lawful occupants of the two Petrine sees of Alexandria and Antioch. St. Eustathius was deposed from Antioch; and Athanasius, the second bishop in the Church, suffered confessorship in repeated exiles, until his life was one long death, and his very name suggests persecution for justice. Athanasius owned no superior in the Church other than the Pope, but the very end which the Eusebian weapon had in view was to sever every link from without, and to concentrate spiritual power in the Sovereign's hands. Still, the Patriarch of Alexandria appealed to the successor of St. Peter, and was supported by him. Unlike St. Chrysostom,

who was held in the toils of a cruel empress, and died in exile for hating iniquity, Athanasius was re-established in his See before the end came.

In proportion to the strife of beautiful Nova Roma was the peace of the old, that city which Constantine had consigned in its heathen garb to Peter's successor. Then it was that the life of the Catacombs showed itself in broad daylight. The temples of the gods were open in 326, when the Emperor departed; but heathenism had been undermined in its fortress, and the impulse given to the Primacy by the unconscious Sovereign of Old Rome was the match which kindled the latent flame. Peter's supremacy partakes of the nature of human government in so far as it bears a proportion to the kingdom over which it is set. As Mr. Allies luminously remarks, the "analogy of human government" must be applied to it. "The polity of the city of Romulus was one thing, and the polity of the empire of Augustus another" (p. 101); the supremacy was an inevitable and natural consequence of the Primacy, and contained in it, as in germ.

Attached like a garland round the "Throne of the Fisherman" are the two chapters on the "Flowering of Patristic Literature." They will appeal to every mind with an innate love of what is beautiful, but most of all to those who value "the Christian faith as the dearest thing they have." These were the men who fought with their minds the great battle of Christian dogma—a true confessionship in itself, and one which often meets with life-long persecution. We need only to name a Chrysostom or an Athanasius to recall vividly to our minds how these men loved their inheritance of the faith. As a matter of fact, we know little about the Fathers, and we sorely need to be enlightened in our darkness. St. Augustine compares the living bread upon our altars to mother's milk,\* and we may say that he and those like him have eaten the Scriptures, and reduced them to milk for the children of the Church. And does not a large proportion of modern failings proceed from want of this sustaining food? Men are cold and flippant and incredulous because their spiritual constitution is not founded on their mother's milk. Let them read the Fathers with knowledge and discretion, and the obscurity of the sacred page will vanish. Mr. Allies' chapters will serve as a guiding thread both as to the man and as to the writer. He pays here to the Fathers a tribute for the Catholic education and training which they gave him in his Anglican days. It was not, however, to Chrysostom, the almost martyr, nor to Athanasius, the incomparable thinker and champion, that he chiefly owed the great teaching of the Holy Eucharist. It was in the pages of

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\* Enarr. in Ps. xxxiii. 6.

Augustine that he first read for himself the adoration of the Blessed Sacrament, and the doctrine which may be said to be essentially Augustine's, that of unity. If one earnest seeker after Catholic truth found it in the Fathers, why should not all honest inquirers be similarly blessed? We are indebted to a writer of the fourth century for setting forth some gems of Catholic practice. Mr. Allies has largely used Prudentius, whose thought was indeed more beautiful than his poetry. He has spoken of St. Eulalia, lying as a martyr "under the feet of God," thus bearing testimony to the adorable Presence on the altar, and to the habit which the Church has adopted from earliest times of using reliques of the martyrs in the altar-stone.

If, indeed, the "Throne of the Fisherman built by the Carpenter's Son," not mathematically demonstrated—for no mathematical demonstration belongs to Christian controversy—but lucidly set forth, impresses itself as a miraculous fact upon the minds of Mr. Allies' readers, then the logical conclusion will be, as in the case of the *Estatica* and *Addolorata*: "If this be so, Rome is true." But there are many men who fancy they are thinking men, and they say, either, "It cannot be true," or "If it be true, then it is no work of God." They are echoing the words spoken to Our Lord by those who could not refute the evidence of their senses: "In Beelzebub thou castest out devils." The consideration to be brought before the latter class of minds is especially this: fact baffles the devil more than phenomena. His wise men could vie with the wonders of Moses and Aaron; the miracles worked by his servants might deceive the elect, as the apparent goodness of the wicked often has done. God might even allow him to produce the stigmata in a human body; but what he *cannot* do is to work a fact surpassing the natural order of things, which, in spite of the most intense opposition, exists during eighteen centuries. In a word, facts like the Throne of the Fisherman, which bear upon them the folly of the Cross, are marked with the Divine Hand.

But in the history of the Papacy there occur moments when this Divine folly, which creates intellect out of ignorance and power out of weakness, can hardly fail to strike the eyes of even indifferent men. It is no longer the desolation of Calvary, the bleeding, agonizing body of One who had promised to defy death and to rise again; it is something more like the Divine consolations of Thabor vouchsafed to mortal men. The pontificate of Pope St. Leo brings one of these moments before us; with Leo the Great, Mr. Allies closes his volume, which embraces the first and second of the eight periods he has chosen as depicting the history of St. Peter's Throne—that is, from A.D. 29 to 461.

In 450 an atmosphere of dissolution was hanging over the  
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Roman Empire, for its throes had already begun, and the position of Rome itself laid it open to an invasion of northern barbarians. The Western Empire depended on the success of Aetius, and the Eastern on the Empress Pulcheria, the only descendant of Theodosius who had inherited any of his genius. "Rome, as a city, was living from hand to mouth. Its sovereign was usually seeking security between the marshes of Ravenna and the sea; he did not venture to dwell on the Palatine Hill, in the palace of Augustus?" \* What of its bishop? Leo was a man filled with the majesty of the Roman peace—that is, with the plentitude of Christian blessing which was symbolized in great Rome's peace. The beauty of the King's daughter is from within; so was the calm of the Roman Pontiff, in whose acts, as a ruler, the troubles of the times found no echo. In the sermons which have come down to us, his "mind is absorbed, without effort or consciousness, in the work of his office, to teach, instruct, support, as one who sits in the chair of the chief Apostle, and whose domain is the imperishable Church of God. Scarcely does he ever mention the secular troubles which made the Palatine Hill no place for a degenerate emperor to occupy. . . . Fear of the barbarism surging round him, or of 'change perplexing monarchs,' is unknown to him." † Neither were heresies wanting to his trial, for Nestorius and Eutyches were assailing the integrity of the Christian inheritance; Nova Roma was striving to found a new tradition in the Church, and to impose its See as second only to that of Rome. The whole position of things was grasped by Leo, yet in his action there is the Divine folly of the Cross, power and majesty coming out of weakness. Perhaps Mr. Allies could not have chosen a more typical period as portraying the latter part of his title. Was not the "Throne of the Fisherman" the "Crown of Christendom," when, all things being full of death, the Successor of St. Peter dictated both to the power that was on its imperial deathbed and to the uncouth barbarian whom God was using as a scourge for His own ends? To "shine a beacon of hope to the world from a defenceless Rome," was to practise confidence in God in an heroic degree; but when Leo went out in his sacerdotal robes, and stayed Attila's hand from making Rome what Babylon and Nineveh now are, his action was emblematical of his office. If he conquered a fierce barbarian by the majesty of his presence, he did a perhaps no less difficult thing later on in formally resisting the aggressive claims of Constantinople. Bishops, people, and Caesars petitioned him in vain to allow the See of Nova Roma to take precedence after his own, to the prejudice of Alexandria and Antioch. St. Leo's reply was that the

\* "Throne of the Fisherman," p. 501.

† P. 504.

demand was contrary to the Canons, and the imperial city had to withdraw its claims. Both acts were sovereign acts, and yet they were accomplished by a man of "most rich poverty,"\* who, because he was the spiritual father of all, was a bulwark of strength in an effete civilization. Still another glory was added to the pontifical career of Pope St. Leo in the successful resistance against Eutyches and Nestorius in the great voice which at Chalcedon acknowledged his primacy by the words, "Peter has spoken by Leo."

If, in the words of Gregorovius, the twenty-one years of St. Leo's pontificate were "terrible years," they were so by a distinct design of Divine Providence. When God has a great work to do, he reduces all things to weakness, and raises up, if needs be, a man after His own heart to carry it out, as the Twelve Men carried out that which Our Lord laid upon them. All wordly elements of success were withdrawn, that His hand might be clearly visible, and that all men might recognise Him whom He had sent. In the divine plan Leo the Great was to show forth the perfection of the Primacy, which became in his time "the Church's centre of gravity." It was the fruit in its maturity, of which the seeds had been sown by a Divine Hand. This was why he shone as a beacon of hope to a hopeless world, twice saving Rome and the Christian people from destruction, and the souls committed to his care from the far worse pestilence of heresy. This was why, in the throes of an agonizing society, he shepherded the sheep and fed the lambs of Christ's flock with as calm an assurance as if his own life had been placed in green pastures.

There is, we think, an unmistakable analogy between Leo then and Leo now. The world is again in a state of dissolution : thrones are crumbling ; civilization has overdone itself ; and we are suffering from enlightened minds accompanied by corrupt hearts—the Tree of Knowledge without the light of faith. And we are threatened by barbarians no other than such as sprung from a heathen universal suffrage, a savage barbarism, unless it can be baptized and christianized. Yet in these days, too, another Leo is reigning by the folly of the Cross, in the strength of a crucified Lord, in whose name he speaks as the servant of the servants of God. If Pope St. Leo's barbarians *did* receive baptism, why should not ours ? There is one amongst us who will speak to them in the name of the Lord, and stay the destructive arm by the majesty of his presence. The world is scarcely less troubled now than then, though it is one of the results of an effete civilization to hide its more crying abuses under cover of a sparkling and prosperous exterior. Whilst men are drinking its bitter-sweet

\* "Vir ditissimæ paupertatis" (S. Jerome) : said of Pope Damasus.

cup, another Pope Leo is fighting the same battle as his great namesake. The powers that be are threatened with annihilation : it is the aim of Leo XIII to show that all power is from God—from on high, not from below. This he can do, even if he be obliged to go out, in the sheer strength of his character, as vicar of Our Lord, to meet another Attila, alone, unprotected by human armies, not trusting in the sword or influence of earthly kings. The eyes of the universe are still upon Pope Leo, "the beacon which is shining in a defenceless world," the "shadow of a great rock in a weary land."

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### ART. III.—A GLANCE AT THE HISTORY OF CHINESE PHILOSOPHY.

PHILOSOPHICAL research in China has not produced any of those works, whose action makes itself felt in the world, or throws light upon the general march of humanity. The productions of Chinese philosophy may be ignored, without the knowledge of the nature of things being thereby in any way diminished or rendered incomplete. However, they are not altogether deprived of interest, and a total ignorance of the theories worked out in China is certainly not without its drawbacks. To begin with, philosophy has had a decisive influence on the fate of the Celestial Empire—not, of course, on the records of war and conquest, but on its interior life and its civilization. The results of the influence of this philosophy<sup>4</sup> form one of the most curious traits of the history of human thought, and an object of ethnographical study really worthy of attention. From a religious point of view, the result which certain writers have endeavoured to draw from the evolutions of Chinese science, does not allow of a Catholic remaining ignorant of these things and so leaving a free field to free-thinkers.

It would doubtless be perfectly superfluous for any but specialists to inquire into all the details of the philosophical works brought into existence in China ; but it is by no means so, to study their general traits. If China has not produced her Platos or Aristotles, she has given birth to thinkers who stand much higher than many whose lucubrations take up numerous pages in our own histories. If metaphysics have been but little cultivated in China, and that in a very imperfect manner, and if the Chinese have not reached any very lofty conceptions regard-

ing the essence of beings, on the other hand, no people have surpassed them, nor indeed attained their level, in the matter of ethics.

All the Chinese philosophical theories may be brought under three heads, and divided among three schools, represented by three famous names : Laotze, Kong-futze, and Chu-hi.

#### I. TAOISM.

The first of these, Laotze, in the sixth century B.C. introduced metaphysical speculations in the extreme East. Previous to him, the Chinese thinkers had concerned themselves only with religion, ethics, and politics. The different philosophical ideas about the nature of things were summed up in the religious belief of the nation. In a former number of this REVIEW,\* I have explained the primitive religion of the ancient Chinese, and the philosophical system which was invented by Laotze : it is needless to dwell on it here. I may content myself with merely recalling the leading traits which it is requisite to keep in view, in order to understand the genesis and progress of ideas.

According to the most ancient texts of the *Shih-king*, and especially of the *Shih-king*—a collection of national poems—some of them dating back to the thirteenth century B.C.—the first Chinese tribes, from their appearance on the scene of history, professed a belief in One only God, Sovereign Lord (Shang-ti) of the Universe—Master of the earth and of empires, the very Principle of justice and all morality, the Supreme Master of man, on whom He imposes His laws, the Avenger of injustice, and the Distributor of rewards due to goodness.

To this supreme and only God, man, an intelligent and free being, owes submission and worship—a worship of adoration and supplication—since He directs whatever happens by His providence, dispenses good and evil, and requires from man an account of his conduct. The soul of man survives the death of the body and the just man's soul ascends to Heaven, where it resides near the Sovereign Lord. The prayers and offerings of the living satisfy for the souls of the dead and augment their happiness.

Lower than the *Summus Dominus* (Shang-ti) the Chinese recognized various genii presiding over the different parts of the world, possessing power enough to do good or evil to man, but in no way participating in the divine nature. Homage is paid to these in order to deter them from doing harm, and to gain their goodwill in their sphere of action. For the rest, these spirits do not seem to be numerous ; they represent the earth, the rivers, the mountains ; but not the sun nor the moon, thus showing clearly

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\* DUBLIN REVIEW, July 1886.

that their origin does not spring from the adoration of the stars or elements, but from that of agents, inferior to God, working in nature. The early Chinese also believed in divination, and consulted, not a blind fate, but what they believed to be a manifestation of Divine Thought. As to moral science, it was already, as we shall see later on, highly developed and of a surprising purity.

Laotze found these principles universally admitted and their consequences put in practice, or at least admitted as practical precepts. We do not pretend that the masses in China were at that time exempt from superstitions, either as to doctrines or to practices. Just the opposite is so much the more probable, as the Chinese tribes had been preceded on the banks of the great rivers by other populations which had doubtless brought with them different beliefs. But the texts do not reveal them to us, nor do they authorize us in any way to affirm anything of them. Besides, if to judge of a religion it were necessary to take into account popular superstitions, then, as a consequence of such a system in our own country, we could form a very singular idea of Christianity itself.

Laotze was the first to carry his speculations into the province of metaphysical studies; the first, to seek into the essence and origin of being, and, accordingly, it was he who created Chinese philosophy. How did this idea originate in him? Where did he seek the first elements of his system? History does not tell us; but the comparison of ideas indicates that India was his master, the Brahmins his instructors. But Laotze was not a mere disciple, or a plagiarist. So far as he was concerned, Brahmanism was only the inspirer of new ideas. Being introduced by it to the investigation of the nature of things, he preserved certain general conceptions, which led him to the creation of a system, *sui generis*, wholly proper to himself. We can sum up this system in a few words.

1. At the beginning of everything, and previous to the existence of any particular being, there was the absolute, infinite, eternal Being; not the ideal Being, but the real, substantial, intelligent, and active Being. Unknowable, and, consequently, unnameable—being, as it was, the plenitude of Being—it had no distinct qualities. Its essence, infinitely subtle, subsisted in itself, without manifesting itself outwardly, and exempt from all exterior desire. As soon, however, as this desire sprang up it produced beings external to its substance, and from that moment it manifested and showed qualities which could furnish matter for a name. In so far as it existed in itself, and in as far as it produced beings, it is identical with itself, and in this double aspect of its nature it is an unfathomable abyss—an incomprehensible mystery.

Not knowing how to name it in an exact and adequate way,

Laotze called it *Tao*—viz., active intelligence. The *Tao* is a Spirit, inaccessible to the senses; it is empty, that is to say, there is within it no particular being, but it contains everything owing to it being immense. It has no form, and its essence is the truth. At perfect repose in itself, it produces everything and penetrates everything without movement.

The *Tao* gives existence to every particular being; but Laotze does not clearly say, whether by creation or by emanation. In either case emanation is for him a production which places contingent beings entirely outside the divine substance.

The universe is divided into three categories of beings, each having a nature essentially different from the others—to wit: Heaven, Earth, Man. However, Laotze believes in spirits, which he probably embraces under the term “Heaven.”

Heaven and Earth are perpetual, and they alone are so; all other beings return to the non-being, or rather to repose.

The life of beings is sustained and developed by the action of Heaven and Earth, which action is directed by *Tao*.

Tao is the Mother of beings; they must have recourse to it, and use it without fear of exhausting it.

2. *Ethics*.—Man, naturally good, should imitate Tao, and practise virtue; but endowed as he is with free-will, it is in his power to do wrong. At the beginning all men were good, and virtue was universally practised; but the passions sprang into existence and engendered evil. Man has only one task to perform—to stifle his passions and return to the state of original justice by imitating Tao.

In order to become virtuous again, man must re-establish calm within him, and act as little as possible; he must grasp at nothing—not even at life itself. The virtues which Laotze preaches are all natural and true.

The Taoist ought to live detached from all external things; he ought to renounce glory, honours, luxury, and magnificence. Living a simple and unknown life, calm, without passion, not seeking his own interests, not availing himself of any talent or merit he may have, he ought to be as if he possessed no superior qualification. Doing good, without any acceptance of persons, he ought to practise humility, purity, sweetness, moderation, &c.

He who shall have lived in the practice of virtue, will return to the *Tao*, and there enjoy happiness.

Laotze has been considered an Epicurean and a rationalist, owing to his having preached the moderation of passions, and to certain writers having translated the word “*Tao*” by “reason.”

After this *exposé*, it would be superfluous to point out that both these imputations are absolutely false, and that Laotze was precisely the opposite of what they represent. The preacher of

abstinence, of humility, of sacrifice is no more an Epicurean than the infinite intelligence productive of beings is the human reason, deified by the free-thinkers of the present day.

Laotze's disciples did not persevere in the path which their master had traced out for them. For philosophical speculations they substituted superstitions, marvellous legends, the apotheosis of men belonging to their school, and above all the search after the philosopher's stone and the elixir of immortality, by means of which they won over the ministers, the princes, and even the emperors, and often succeeded in gaining credit at Court and among the people. Accordingly, their history does not belong in reality to the annals of philosophy, and we have only to recall their principal traits.

The class of Taoïst works recognized in the official literature of China comprises numerous volumes written at different periods. A great number of them, however, are taken up with alchemy, amulets, the philosopher's stone, fasts, sacrifices, ritual, and incantations. The degenerate disciples of Laotze having invented, in imitation of Buddhism, a crowd of supernatural personages endowed with immortality, dedicated several treatises to the biography of these saints of Taoïsm. Thus the *Lei-sien-chuen*, of the third century A.C., gives an account of the works and deeds of seventy-one of them. The *Shin-sien-chuen*, of the fourth century, describes eighty-four of them; and the *Shin-sien-tong-kien* (1640) more than 800. Many others equally abound in legends.

Among these works we have to cite merely (1) several commentaries on the *Tao-te-king*, the book of Laotze, and among these that of Lieh-yu-keou of the fourth century B.C., and that of Chwang-cheou of the same period; both commented upon at equal length up to the last century. (2) The treatise of Wang-tze-Yuen (eighth century A.D.) and Yao-you-siun (sixteenth century), which explain the Taoïst doctrines. (3) One of the most celebrated, the "Book of Rewards and Punishments," describing future retribution, composed in order to cope with Buddhism, which worked especially by this means and so carried away the minds of the people; and finally, the "Book of the Reward of Hidden Good Actions," both by unknown authors and dating from the beginning of the modern period (fifteenth or sixteenth century). Lastly, the *Yu-li-chow-chouen-king-chi*, composed by Tan-che, a Taoïst monk. In this book he paints the horrors of the infernal world, as he himself witnessed them in an imaginary journey to these regions of darkness and torture.

Lieh-yu-keou had already radically changed the master's principles. Arguing from the identity of "being" and

"non-being" and from the vicissitudes of life, he drew from them as a conclusion that man has but one thing to do—"to enjoy himself." Since life is but a journey to the abyss, what is the good of occupying oneself with virtue and politics? Let us enjoy the time which is given us, and so forth.

He imagined also a system of creation or "ontogeny," which he explained in sibylline terms. In the beginning was *Tai-yih* (the Great Change), the invisible chaos, the impalpable, &c.; then *Tai-chou*, the Great Principle; *Tai-chi*, the Great Prince; and *Tai-sou*, the Great Pure One. Spirits spring from the second, *Tai-chou*; forms, from *Tai-chi*; matter from the fourth. The *Tai-yih* was one, but became seven, which seven engendered nine, &c. The rest is still more extravagant. Chwang-tze kept closer to the moral ideas of Laotze, but conceived, or imitated, the fundamental idea of Brahmanism,—that life, the exterior world, is only a deceitful appearance. "One day," says he, "I dreamt I was a butterfly fluttering about from flower to flower, without knowledge of any other existence: now I find myself under the form of Chwang-tze! Which of these two lives is conformable to the truth? Which am I to look upon as the dream?" This, however, does not hinder him from looking upon life seriously and practically and also preaching virtue.

In all this there is only one author and one book (and that consists of three pages only) which merits any attention. In it at least we find philosophical and independent thoughts. It is the *Chang-tsing-tsing-king*\* of Ko-Hiuen, who lived towards the fourth century B.C.

In this short space, Ko-Hiuen develops a sufficiently complete system. Although founded on the principles of the *Tao-te-king*, it comprises one also which is quite foreign to the doctrines of Laotze, and which we shall see later on dominating all Chinese philosophy. It is that of the two principles or elements of which all beings are composed—viz., the *Yang* and the *Yin*—i.e., the active intelligent principle, and the passive material principle.

The following is a short *exposé* of Ko-Hiuen's system:—

1. In the beginning exists eternal infinite Intelligence; it has produced all beings; it moves, sustains, and supports them. In it and by it exist the two secondary principles, which, combining together, form each particular being—Heaven, the male element, belongs to the first, the *Yang*; the Earth, the female element, belongs to the second, *Yin*. Both are united in man. Heaven and Earth contain all contingent beings and their transformations; there is nothing outside them. The active principle is the source of the passive principle.

\* "A Book of Two Principles." *Vide* my "*Livre du principe lumineux et du principe passif*," which contains a full translation of it.

The eternal intelligence (*Tao*) exists of itself; the two secondary principles by participation in this intelligence. It is this which engenders beings, and this engendering is perpetual. The two secondary principles unite constantly in creations or successive formations.

Man is intelligent, conscious, and free; he ought to walk in the paths of holiness.

2. *Moral*.—The mind and the heart of man tend to what is intellectual and to repose, by the absence of desires; but passions stir him up and cause all evils. Man ought to resist his passions and rule them. Doing so, he will enjoy repose and be pure and happy; neglecting to do so, he will be in trouble, mischief, and pain.

Certain men are good and enlightened by nature and do not err. These are the saints. Others become such by instruction and exercise; they should walk in the ways of the saints. If they succeed in doing so they have reached the limit of perfection, by this virtue which is no longer a distinct virtue, nor a combination of distinct virtues, but perfection without any special name.

But creatures constantly miss their end, and existences succeed each other like the waves, dragging beings into the sea of sorrows belonging to imperfect or faulty lives.

This system, as is evident, is a mixture of pure Taoism, and fragments of later philosophy, as well as of Chinese Buddhism in its metempsychosis.

For the perfect understanding of all these systems, it is to be noticed that the Chinese did not grasp in general the radical difference of nature which we establish between mind and matter. For them, man is intelligent, conscious, free, and responsible; death does not destroy him; there remains in him a breath, a spirit, which, according to some, disappears without one knowing what becomes of it; according to others, goes to suffer the punishments due to its faults or to receive the recompense due to its virtues; but between man and the animals there is a difference of degree of perfection rather than of essence.

The *Tao-te-king* and the doctrine of Lao-tze have been the subjects of many commentaries. A list of them may be seen in the edition of Stanislas Julien's "*Lao-tzeu—Tao-te-king*" (*observations préliminaires*, pp. xxxvi. seqq.) As they add but a little to the fundamental system, we shall not concern ourselves about them.

Taoism, contrary to the intentions of its author, has accordingly done nothing towards the amelioration of Chinese morals; on the contrary, it has dragged the people into the grossest superstitions.

Confucius, for his part, had had the same object in view as his rival ; let us now see if he has been successful.

## II. CONFUCIANISM.

The work of *Kong-futze* has been very differently appreciated. Some have exalted him to the rank of the first moralist of ancient times, they have regarded him as the inheritor of primitive tradition given by God to humanity ; others, on the contrary, have considered him the perverter of the Chinese people. Some have attributed to him a complete and methodical system ; whilst others have refused him the merit of any system or *vue d'ensemble*. The truth, as is generally the case, lies between the two extremes ; or rather, it consists in a combination of these different judgments, each containing a part of the reality.

*Kong-futze* is, in truth, a great moralist, a man of large heart, and his teachings have propagated and perpetuated many admirable maxims which have certainly produced great acts of virtue. But in systematically removing from these teachings all notion of reference to God, of duty to Him, he uprooted the whole basis of morality, and destroyed in the people the religious sentiment which alone can render adhesion to moral principles interior and sincere. In this way the great philosopher destroyed religion in China, prepared that state of external virtue which conceals the most dangerous of internal vices and opens the door to all sorts of superstitions with a people that is credulous and eager for the supernatural. In this way *Kong-futze* really perverted the nation and corrupted all morality and virtue at its very source.

On the other hand, *Kong-futze's* ideas are not exclusively his own. He was and constantly professed to be the principal restorer of morality and ancient maxims ; he did not formulate a complete and methodical system. But although incomplete and drawn from the traditions of his nation, his teaching, none the less, constituted a system, and with him, in his own mind certainly, the maxims which he left to his disciples were based on a principle and had a well-defined connection one with the other, although he has not made known to us in what way. Hence, we are quite right in speaking of the "system" of Confucius. Let us then try to formulate it in the few following lines. Before commencing, however, it is well to keep in mind that of the great philosopher's maxims we have only a few scattered ones collected by his disciples. In this respect, he may be compared to Socrates. Both were followed by disciples to whom they gave oral lessons ; of neither do we know the principles, except through their conversations with their disciples, and we possess various dialogues edited by these latter. Both were

persecuted during their life, and their glory began only after their death.

Accordingly, we know Kong-futze only by means of what the inheritors of his teachings tell us; but these same—if we are to attach any belief to them, and there is no reason for refusing to do so—relate the very words of their master. They have composed three books, bearing the names *Ta-hio*, or “the Great Teaching;” *Chung-Yong*, or “the medium, the inalterable interior calm;” and the *Lun-Yü*, or “the Conferences.” The two first are made up for the greater part of direct teachings; the third, of questions put to the master and answered by him.

Kong-futze, in undertaking his mission of morality, chiefly proposed to himself as an end to bring back the rich as well as the common people to sentiments of decency and justice, humanity and prosperity; he wished to reform the Court as well as the masses. He understood quite well what a good effect could be produced by an *exposé* of the beauty of virtue, and by the good example shown by leaders of the people. His views, however, remained entirely human; he did not understand that man has duties to God, and that the intervention of God in human affairs would alone ensure the practice of precepts by giving them a sanction and foundation.

He did not deny the existence of Shang-ti, but he hardly ever spoke of Him. We meet with only one passage where he makes mention of Him. It is in the 19th chapter of the *Chung-Yong*, where he says: “The rites of sacrifice to Heaven and Earth are in accordance with the service of Shang-ti.” In the *Ta-hio*, x. 5, the author—a grandson of the philosopher—recalls a passage of the *Shi-king*, where Shang-ti is mentioned and that is all. The expression *T'ien* (Heaven) designating the Sovereign power, appears at times. The *T'ien* alone is great,\* it alone gives greatness and riches;† through it alone is man capable of knowing;‡ it does not speak but acts,§ &c. &c.

I have given these texts to prove that I do not change in anything the thought of Kong-futze; I may now rest satisfied with giving a general *exposé* of his ideas.

Kong-futze preserved all the old beliefs of the Chinese nation, but used them in such a way as to destroy their effect.

He believed in a supreme God—Shang-ti—but excluded Him from his teachings, and thereby accustomed his disciples not to concern themselves any longer with His existence. He admitted the notion of Heaven as it had existed previous to his time, with that vague and indetermined character, however, which left one

\* *Lun-Yü*, viii. 19.

‡ *Chung-Yong*, xx. 7.

† *Ibid.* xii. 9.

§ *Lun-Yü*, xvii. 19.

in doubt as to whether he were treating of a personified Heaven, or of the Master of Heaven, or of something else quite different. It is Heaven which directs everything and settles the destiny of men; in it is destiny and Providence; but it acts without speaking; its works have neither sound nor smell; it distributes all goods. To murmur against it is a grave fault; the sins of men displease it, and there are some faults for which there is no pardon.

Heaven fixes for each person his lot, and beyond that one cannot hope to go: prayer is useless, for Heaven does not change; men's crimes alone can change their destiny: Heaven has no heart.

Kong-futze believed in spirits—in supernatural beings, animated with good or evil dispositions towards men. These spirits see into the future: invisible themselves, they can enter into material beings, and take up their abode in them. They preside over mountains, rivers, &c. He invited men to honour the protecting genii of the family, to the exception of all others. As to spirits, they should be respected, but kept at a distance. Therein is true science; they should not even be invoked in illness.

Kong-futze did not enter into any definite explanations as to the nature of man and his origin. He is a production of Heaven and Earth, like everything else, but in him there is the very highest expression of their power: he is their equal. The decree of Heaven for him is the nature of beings; the light which is in each one is his nature. Every man has his particular nature from the decree of Heaven. There are some who have received a wisdom which will never grow dim; others, on the contrary, are so blind that they will never behold the light of reason. The former are the Saints. Three classes of men are clearly distinguished as so constituted by nature: the Saints, who have no need of instruction in order to be perfect, and who cannot cease to be perfect; the Wise, who have made themselves so by study; and the low and vulgar, whom no study could ever render wise. Kong-futze believed in the survival of man after the death of the body; but for him this immortality was, as it were, without retribution or moral sanction. Everything was finished in this life. In the other life, the departed was nought else but a kind of genius of the family—it mattered not whether he had been good or bad; and his descendants were bound to worship him in order to maintain him in a place of bliss. The Saint, no less than the inferior man, was reduced to this. I said "*as it were* without retribution," for the Chinese sage refused to explain himself clearly upon the question of future existence.

The only essential part of Kong-tze's doctrine—the only point with which he directly concerned himself, that which formed the constant object of his lessons—was the moral

perfection of man. Thus, properly speaking, Kong-futze was never anything but a moralist. He had set up for himself his ideal of moral perfection, which he everywhere preached, and in every possible way developed. He made a collection of all the details of his instructions, comprising the following different parts: the formation of the intelligence by the study of the true; the reform and strengthening of the heart; self-possession and self-guidance; government of the family and the empire; the state of happiness and peace assured to the world. All this forms the rule, the collection of rules, the way of the superior man (Kiun-tze) and the government of the empire are the final and principal end of it all.

Man should constantly work to perfect himself and prepare himself for such an end by repressing his unruly desires, and by serious study. He was wont to see this perfection in the maxims of the ancient books, the *Shu-king*, the *Shih-king*, and the *Li-ki*, or memorial of Rites.

According to Kong-futze, man is naturally good; but desires and the attraction of exterior objects drag him out of himself, and makes him commit wrong acts, from which originate faults and vices. He ought therefore to work hard at discovering his faults and the means of correcting them. It is, then, the therapeutics of the heart which should be the object of his constant solicitude. The first means to use is purity of intention, a fixed will to tend towards this perfecting of self with sincerity and firmness. Free-will is a gift which cannot be taken from man; it ought to be directed to that which study has pointed out to us as good. It is to virtue that it ought to tend, to the union of all the qualities expected from a perfect heart, to the observance of duties. But the virtue which is obligatory on each one is not according to a fixed measure: it depends upon natural gifts, upon the kinds of qualities which have been granted us by the decree of Heaven.

The first is courage, an intrepidity which yields to no difficulty or danger, and which knows how to undertake great things. Then comes sincerity—a complete conformity of words with acts. He who professes more than he practises is a hypocrite. Our language then ought to be easy, circumspect, and measured, so as not to go beyond what we do. Knowledge, all intelligence rendered just and penetrating, is also a virtue, and counts among the cardinal virtues.

Man should especially keep complete control over his heart, and his every movement; he should not allow the passions to stir him up to such a point as to cause him to lose entire mastery or control over them; neither should he let external things so act upon him as to draw him out of himself against his own

will. He should ever preserve within him a zeal for his own advancement; and should he be tempted to grow faint, he should stir up his zeal afresh by the reading of meditations. He should stifle all desire of gain or honours, and act only from a love of virtue; he should be ever grave and dignified in bearing.

The other virtues have mainly for their end the relations of man to man. In general, they are humanity, kindness, fidelity, respect.

Humanity rests chiefly on this principle: treat others as you would wish them to treat you; do for them what you would wish them to do for you. Love what they love; rejoice with them in their joys; weep with them in their afflictions.

Duties towards others are reduced to the following categories: duties of parents and children; of the prince and of subjects; of magistrates; of husband and wife; of superiors or aged persons, and inferiors or young persons; of friends and associates; of equals.

Respect is the foundation of all these virtues, and even of society; filial piety is the plenitude and model of them. Children owe respect, devotedness, and the most complete service to their parents: it is their duty to support their parents, and rejoice their hearts and spare them all pain; they are not to expose themselves to any danger which would make them less serviceable to their parents; and should the latter commit any fault, they should warn them with respect and gentleness.

Parents should love, bring up, and instruct their children. The younger sons should respect the elder ones, obey them, ask counsel of them. The elder sons should love, protect, and support the younger.

The duties of husband and wife are but lightly touched upon by Kong-futze. Having been very unhappy in his family life, he had a very unfavourable opinion of the female sex. He insists upon the submission and respect due by the wife to the husband, as also upon the bad character of women. He authorizes polygamy and divorce on several grounds; he places the woman in a continual dependence upon her father, in the first instance, then upon her husband, and finally upon her sons, when she is a widow.

Magistrates owe to their prince respect, fidelity, devotedness, and sincerity; they ought to admonish him, however, even at the peril of their lives.

Friends owe to each other respect, fidelity, sincerity, devotedness, affection, and mutual confidence.

Such are the main characteristics of Confucius's doctrine. Apparently it contains nothing but what is rational, and even soars to a great height. But in the application which the sage himself makes of his principles, he often falls into errors, exaggera-

tions, and absurdities. The gravest reproach to be made is that of having, so to speak, effaced from men's minds the idea of the Divinity.

Setting aside spirits, never speaking of God, but only, and that in very rare cases, of Heaven, taken in a vague acceptation ; checking all inquiry into the fate of the soul after death, Kong-futze created a system of ethics purely human. Without other foundation than convenience, the beauty of principles, the effects of their observance upon destinies here below, this morality without God led the Chinese into a veritable, practical atheism, weakened characters, and produced a vast system of hypocrisy which hides the most shameful vices under the cloak of the purest of virtues. Grand maxims and low, corrupt morals, such is the principal result of this system. Whilst on the one hand the Chinese troubles himself about the rules of a civility more than childish, often in fact ridiculous, he is little concerned at deceiving and oppressing those whom he can.

Kong-futze left numerous disciples, who at first published the three books which have been mentioned above, and which contain fragments of the master's teaching : and his school has gone on perpetuating itself to the present day. The *literati* all profess themselves his disciples ; it is his books which form the basis of all the instruction of youth and the educated class.

The first whose writings have had any reputation is Meng-tze, or Mencius, who passes for the most accomplished sage after Kong-futze. He has left a pretty large work which bears his name, but which treats mainly of the art of governing men, and also of social and publice morals. It is by no means a methodical treatise ; it is a long series of anecdotes, conferences, maxims, and such like. Meng-tze, like his master, but with greater boldness and vigour, went about from place to place recalling princes and magistrates to the observance of their duties, to justice and humanity. He, however, strengthened still further the purely human spirit of Confucianist ethics, and left God and Heaven aside more completely. Thus he served only to plunge China more than ever into the evil which eats it away and destroys it, and to aid in moulding the entire empire according to the model of his master.

Confucius's school, generally speaking, has only brought out reproductions, commentaries or developments of the master's thoughts.

The differences are not worth noting in such a summary sketch as the present. The only ones worth mentioning are :

(1) Siun-Hiang, of the fourteenth century B.C., who taught that human nature was originally evil, and on this subject he was in opposition to Meng-tze.

(2) Yang-Hiung, at the close of the ancient era, according to whom our nature was a mixture of bad and good in equal proportions.

(3) Yang-chu, a contemporary of Meng-tze. According to him the end of all human activity is the seeking of one's own interest—the love of oneself in preference to every other. He exhorted all to be indifferent to life or death.

(4) Me-ti, of the same epoch. He preached just the contrary of Yang-chu—universal charity, equal love to all. Both of them were strongly assailed by the great disciple of Confucius.

(5) Chuang-chu, about the middle of the fourth century. He taught that at the beginning of the universe there was a vacuum—the chaos of the Greeks; he also professed a most accentuated cynicism.

### III. THE NATURALIST SCHOOL—CHU-HI.

In the concluding centuries of the ancient era we notice the appearance, without being able to assign any very fixed date, of speculations, or at least doctrines, on the origin and formation of beings, especially the doctrine of the double principle of *Yang* and *Yin*, of which we have spoken *à propos* of the book of Ko-Huen, Laotze's disciple.

This doctrine was especially developed in the commentaries on the *Yi-King*,\* in which it was pretended that one might find it represented by the black and white lines, and by the full and broken lines. It was also believed to be discovered in two ancient pictures which had been handed down from generation to generation, containing simply the ten ciphers arranged as a square in two different ways, in such a way that the equal numbers were represented by black balls, the unequal by white balls. These balls, or ciphers, as it was said, represented the two elements according to their colour. As there were five of each kind, 1, 3, 5, 7, 9, and 2, 4, 6, 8, 10, they were looked upon as representing the five elements, each composed of *Yin* and of *Yang*.

Upon these as a basis the commentators of the *Yi-King* established a kind of philosophical system, of which the following are the principles:—

Over and above all, and at the very origin of all, is a primary principle, which produces the two secondary principles, *Yang* and *Yin*—activity or the intellectual, and passivity or the purely material. These two principles produce Heaven and Earth and man between them; or rather, Heaven and Earth were formed from these two principles, and the Earth is formed of the five

\* The two principles are mentioned in a passage of the *Shu-King*; but it is supposed to be an interpolation.

elements—fire, water, air, earth, and wood. Man is dependent upon Heaven, and should imitate it.

These commentaries also speak of *Ti*, which is looked upon as designating God, breathing by His spirit, and producing the revolutions of the universe.

But nothing of all this forms a methodical system; these are only accidental and scattered utterances.

It is only in the tenth century A.D. that we find a complete system formulated and a new school arise, founded upon this basis. The chief representatives of this school were Chu-tze (1010–1073), who gave it its first manual; and Chu-hi, who definitively constituted the system, and gave it its full development.

Chu-tze left two small works of much importance—viz., the *Tai-kih-thoo*, or picture of the first principle; and the *Thung-Shoo*, or book thoroughly examining (the doctrine).

The *Tai-kih-thoo* shows the ontogeny of the system. Chu-tze had recognized the impossibility of putting the *Yang* and the *Yin* at the origin of things; he imagines a superior principle, from which both proceed—the *Tai-kih*, or *summum supremum*. The system is as follows: At the beginning *in principio* was the *summum supremum*, without beginning or cause. It alone has been produced by nothing. Since it began to act, it produced the *Yang*; resting after having acted, it produced the *Yin*, and in this way it produces them indefinitely.

The *Yang* acting and the *Yin* conforming itself to these acts, produced the five elements with their spiration; from these originate the four seasons. The essence, the reality of all these principles, is united for ulterior productions, and these same ulterior ones are produced by generation of couples, male and female, without end or interruption. Man contains the totality of the principles by his corporal form and his intelligence; this same intelligence produces knowledge, in consequence of which are born good and evil.

The author here passes on to morality, and begins by giving the type of a perfect man.

The Saint is formed by the virtues of moderation, firmness, uprightness, humanity, and justice. The wise man is happy (or good) in the exercise of these perfections; the vulgar man, on the contrary, in acting otherwise, is unhappy and wicked.

The *Thung-Shoo* is mainly an *exposé* of morality: it indicates and describes the principal virtues which constitute the Saint and the Sage.

Truth, that is to say, veracity and conformity to reality, is the foundation of sanctity; it never undergoes change. Goodness is simple and pure, without mixture or stain; it consists of the

permanent succession of the *Yang* and the *Yin*; nature is the realization of this succession of the revolutions of the matter\* of which beings are constituted. Every operation has four elements—beginning, prolongation, adaptation, strengthening or conclusion. The first two are the constitution of the truth; the last two, its renewal. Faith is the foundation of the five cardinal virtues—goodness, justice, propriety, wisdom, firmness or sincerity; and also it is the source of all actions. From the fact of itself being truth, it has no act to perform, no object to realize outside of itself.

In reality there is only good that exists; but beings have tendencies, and therein is good and evil. Sanctity, by its nature, is being at rest. Those who know how to attain and preserve within them the state of sanctity are the wise men. Spirit is that which is clear and hidden, which no one can see, which fills everything and cannot be exhausted.

Evil, wickedness, consists in the privation of the five cardinal virtues; a total privation of them is the state of complete perversity.

The Saint is endowed with truth, spirit and aspirations (*i.e.*, virtuous ones). His aim is law and virtue. The law is order and rectitude in acts; virtue is proportion and harmony in activity.

To observe the law brings honour and profit. He who makes it predominate is like to Heaven and Earth.

Virtue is the just mean between severity and hardness, between kindness and too great indulgence, &c.

Sanctity can be acquired; and the principal means is to repress desires.

Chu-tze also believes in the efficacy of music to calm the passions, establish virtue, and ensure peace to the world. Chu-tze speaks only incidentally of Heaven, when he says, "Heaven is the norm of the saint; and the saint is that of the sage."

Such is the *ensemble* of the system; it had not yet fallen into its greatest errors, and it still found in the *Tao-kih* a place for the Divinity. It was Chu-hi who came to fill up the measure.

Chu-hi or Chu-tze is the most celebrated of the Chinese philosophers of our era, and the true founder of a school which at the present day rules throughout the empire. The morality is that of Kong-tze, but the philosophical and religious principles those of Chu-hi.

This philosopher lived from 1130-1200. After a brilliant course of studies he devoted himself to the study of Taoism and Buddhism, but rejected these two doctrines as equally false. He

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\* In a general sense, and not as opposed to the spirit.

then applied himself to the works of Kong-tze and his disciples, revised their texts and commented on them. Chu-tze's philosophy pleased him and he adopted its principles, at the same time modifying them in fundamental points. His ideas were found bold and heretical, and he accordingly fell into disgrace. He was obliged to resign his functions and lost his titles. It was only after his death that his school triumphed and ended by absorbing, so to speak, the Chinese philosophy.

Chu-hi adopted Kong-futze's moral and developed it in his book of the *Tao-hio* or "secondary teaching."\* It is this book which at the present time forms the basis of all moral teaching in China.

His anthropological system does not differ much from that of the great Philosopher. It is in metaphysics that Chu-hi has made innovations. He sought to give an explanation of the origin and formation of beings, but did not succeed in producing anything methodical or harmonious. At first he discarded the principles previously in vogue, declaring that the God of the ancient Chinese, the *Shang-ti*, and the Heaven, *Tien*—to which was attributed a personal existence, a will, an intelligent providence—was really nothing of all this. This master, who was supposed to rule from the height of Heaven, was not a spirit, but the simple, immaterial, unconscious principle.

Afterwards attacking the "Supreme Principle without beginning" of Chu-tze, he reduced it to the same condition; it was no longer an independent Being, having a personal existence, but only the supreme point, the perfection of the immaterial principles.

Thus, unencumbered with these embarrassing conceptions, he proclaimed that at the beginning there were only two principles—the one immaterial, *Ki*; the other, material, *li* coming from a *Tien-li*, the principle of Heaven, which begins all existences. These two principles are inseparable, although the *Ki* has an incontestable, logical pre-existence. It is the principle of order and arrangement in first Matter, by means of which this same first Matter produces particular beings. Without the material principle the immaterial one has no point of subsistence and would not be. It exists in all things without dividing them; it is the principle of the movement of the first Matter. It has neither will, nor desire, nor plan, nor activity of its own; it consists of the four cardinal virtues—goodness, justice, propriety, and wisdom; it is an immense void, without form or appearance, incapable of action or creation.

\* See "Siao-hio avec les commentaires de Tcheu-chuen traduit du chinois." Par C. de Harlez (*Annales du Musée Guimet*, 1886).

The material principle consists of the five elements ; it embraces a male and a female principle, the combination of which forms contingent beings ; it has two successive and uninterrupted periods of increase and decrease.

In his commentary on the *Tai-kih-too* of Chu-tze, Chu-hi expresses himself somewhat differently :—

The works of Heaven are the axis and hinge of all existence and of all decay, the foundation of all things. The movements of the first principle which produce successive existences are started by the decree of Heaven, and everything is formed according as it is developed by the succession of the *Yang* and the *Yin*. The *Tai-kih* is the model, the rule of all beings : the *Yin* and the *Yang* being the supports of them. These produce everything passively by furnishing the matter. Real existence comes from the *Spiritus*, which is amassed and coagulates, and takes form : by its different changes are born men and things.

At the death of man the body is dissolved into earth and spirit ; the breath flies away and disappears without one knowing where or how ! All beings united together form the supreme Principle, and each possesses it in itself without causing it to be divided.

Man is intelligent, conscious ; he can and ought to overcome his passions and keep down his desires. He is the highest production of the first principles. His heart is naturally good and capable of the highest moral perfection. This the Saints possess completely ; others attain it, each according to his capacity and his destiny.

Certain assertions appear to contradict the system. Thus, in § 7, com. 3, he says that the heart of Heaven and Earth is the principle of man ; that the *Yang* is the "good" and the *Yin* is the "bad." The Saint occupying the middle, neither Heaven nor Earth, the Sun nor the Moon, the Seasons nor the Spirits can resist him.

The following are other ideas enunciated incidentally : When the *Yin* and the *Yang* take form the law of Heaven is established. When strength and gentleness take possession of matter, the law of the Earth is established. When goodness and justice are strengthened the law of man is constituted (*Kai-kih-too*, 9, 1). *Yang* and strength and goodness are the beginning of things ; *Yin* and gentleness and justice are their ends. Movement and repose have no beginning. *Yin* and *Yang* have no commencement. To begin with *Yang* and finish with *Yin*, to place one's foundation in repose and one's development in movement—this is the law of man, &c. &c.

Such is the result of the Chinese Aristotle's efforts—ancient traditions mixed up with philosophical speculations, in which one may vainly seek for some ideas based upon an exact observation of

the nature of beings, and upon logical deductions. Preconceived ideas developed indifferently, without true dialectics, without any attention paid to the possibility or rationality of theories—this is all. Nevertheless, Chu-hi has had a large number of disciples, and his system has prevailed even to our own days. Several of his disciples have brought out *exposés* of the system. The most celebrated is Chin-chun, who gave to the doctrine the name of *Sing-li*, or natural philosophy. The Emperor Ming-chen-tsu made a vast collection of them (1415) in 70 books, containing the writing of 120 philosophers. In vain did Wang-tze-huai, in the sixteenth century, combat these doctrines, which he justly branded as corruptions of healthy ideas.

In 1717 the Emperor Kang-hi made a kind of official *résumé* of them, which in our own day is still regarded as classical, under the name of *Sing-li-thsing-y*, or the pure principles of natural philosophy.

Thus, Chu-hi finishes Confucius's work, by finally crushing out the sentiments of true religiousness; removing every basis of morality, and only leaving, to great as well as to small, a virtue without foundation or sincerity.

In order to be complete, there would still remain for us to explain the philosophical doctrines of Chinese Buddhism, which may be done in a future number.

C. DE HARLEZ.

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#### ART. IV.—THE AGE OF STEEL.

1. *The Metallurgy of Iron and Steel.* By JOHN PERCY, M.D., F.R.S. London : John Murray. 1864.
2. *Steel: Its History, Manufacture, Properties and Uses.* By J. S. JEANS. London : E. & F. N. Spon. 1880.
3. *History of the Manufacture of Iron in all Ages.* By JAMES M. SWANK. Philadelphia. 1884.
4. *Creators of the Age of Steel.* By W. T. JEANS. London : Chapman & Hall. 1884.
5. *The Journal of the Iron and Steel Institute.* London : E. & F. N. Spon.

A GREAT industrial revolution is not less far-reaching in its effects than those more clamorous social upheavals which reverse thrones and dislocate empires. History is as largely modified by mechanics as by politics, and the human race as

widely affected by the displacement of an industry as by that of a dynasty. The happy adjustment of a crank, the ingenious modification of a cylinder, may alter the destiny of millions, and as truly decide the fate of nations as the course of conquest or the upshot of battle.

Such a change, involving the abandonment of old processes and products on the vastest scale, has within the last thirty years been effected in the greatest of the world's industries. "As surely as the age of iron superseded that of bronze, so will the age of steel follow that of iron." These were the words, spoken in August, 1861, of the bold innovator to whom this result is due, and every year that has since elapsed has tended to verify them. The beautiful mechanical contrivance of Sir Henry Bessemer, by which crude iron, oxygenated by the passage of the pneumatic blast, is acierated in half an hour, tends more and more to substitute the metal thus produced for all the purposes hitherto subserved by malleable iron. When we remember that the former can be produced with a fourth of the fuel and a third of the labour required for the latter, we realize the magnitude of the revolution effected, summed up in M. Michel Chevalier's declaration that the invention of the Bessemer process outweighs in value the discovery of all the auriferous regions of California and Australia.

Gold, indeed, has a purely adventitious importance as compared with that of the Protean metal that lends itself to all man's wants. The affinity of iron for other substances leads to its occurrence in nature under more or less disguised forms. Practically omnipresent in varying combinations, it is the only metal which enters as a constituent into the human structure, and in its absolutely pure state it is used only for medicinal purposes. In the iron ores of commerce it is found either as an oxide or a carbonate, thus determining their dual classification. With the carbonates of iron there is always a large intermixture of clay, and these ores are called clay ironstone, or argillaceous iron. In the latter form, familiarly known as "clay band," or where largely mixed with carbonaceous matter, as "black band," it is extensively found throughout the English coal measures, the juxtaposition of fuel and ore here reducing to a minimum the cost of smelting.

The ores in which iron exists in the state of oxide are, however, of far purer quality, generally free from phosphorus, and with a comparatively small intermixture of earthy matter. To this class belong the hematites, red and brown, spathic and sparry ores, bog iron and specular ore, so called from its mirror-like fracture, while the list is headed by the magnetic oxide of iron, found chiefly in Sweden, and there in one mine, that of Dannemora. This remarkable mineral deposit, discovered in 1470, has been worked

for 400 years without showing signs of exhaustion, although its average yield in recent years has been 35,300 metric tons of ore of the highest commercial value.

The relative proportions in which these ores are used in the British iron manufacture are as follows, the figures being for 1884 :—

	Tons.
Hematites, principally from Lancashire and Cumberland, yielding 46 to 63 per cent. of metal . . . . .	3,165,600
Ironstone from the lias formations of North Yorkshire, Lincolnshire, Northamptonshire, Oxfordshire, and Wilts, 25 to 35 per cent. metal . . . . .	7,405,600
Argillaceous iron from the Coal Measures of Shropshire, Derbyshire, Yorkshire, North and South Staffordshire, Wales, and Scotland, 25 to 40 per cent metal . . . . .	4,240,000
Total British ore, miscellaneous included . . . . .	16,138,000
Imported ore, chiefly from Spain and Sweden . . . . .	3,153,000
Total British and Foreign . . . . .	19,291,000
Produce in tons of iron . . . . .	7,361,440

In those Phlegræan fields of Mid-England, well named the "Black Country," it is the process of iron-smelting that kindles perennially the "great flame-crested towers, above which the skies flicker and flash, as though they reflected the glare of burning cities." \* From these blast furnaces the molten metal runs in the shape of cast-iron, familiarly called "pig-iron," from the fanciful resemblance of the "sow" or principal trough, whence it flows into lateral moulds, called "pigs," to the porcine brood-mother and her progeny.

The metal run from the furnace retains the chemical impurities of the ore, chiefly five: carbon, silicon, phosphorus, manganese, and sulphur. The presence of these ingredients largely modifies its structure and qualities. Sulphur, if amounting to  $\frac{1}{10}$  per cent., produces "red shortness," brittleness when hot; a like proportion of phosphorus "cold shortness," or brittleness when cold. Superabundance of silicon results in "glazed pig," covered with a vitreous coating. But it is on its carbon contents, varying from 2 to 5 per cent., that the character of cast-iron mainly depends, determining its classification according to fineness of granular structure into 1, 2, 3, and 4; or white, grey, and mottled pig.

The elimination of these impurities by refining processes results in malleable iron, which, in proportion as it parts with its

\* "Great Industries of Great Britain: Iron and Steel." By William Dundas Scott-Moncrieff. London: Cassell, Petter & Galpin. 1877-79.

carbon, becomes more ductile and less fusible, no longer melting save at impracticable temperatures.

Intermediate between these two states of iron is steel, containing carbon in the proportion of from  $\frac{1}{2}$  to 2 per cent. Iron has in this state acquired a new capability—that of undergoing change of structure when subjected to rapid alternations of heat and cold. Thus, if plunged red-hot into cold water, mercury, or oil, it becomes hardened and is rendered brittle and elastic; reverting to its former condition, if once more heated and allowed to cool gradually. The first process is called "quenching," the second "annealing," and a combination of the two "tempering." The resistance and temper capacity of steel increase with its carbon contents, but its ductility diminishes. Thus while  $\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. carbon gives malleable steel, susceptible of fusion, welding, and tempering,  $\frac{1}{4}$  per cent. carbon results in granulated iron which barely tempers, and  $\frac{3}{4}$  per cent. in soft homogeneous iron which no longer does so. The temper of steel, and its adaptation to various uses, are indicated by the iridescent film of oxide on its surface of a tint corresponding to the temperature to which it has been raised. A pale straw-colour, produced at 220° Cent., marks the quality suitable for a lancet; dark blue, obtained at a temperature of 315° Cent., that for a common saw.

The hardening effect of carbon upon iron is illustrated by the fact that if a bar of malleable iron be cut in two, one portion, aceriated by the addition of this element, may be fashioned into a tool capable of cutting the other into shreds. But the rough generalization that steel is a mixture of carbon and iron is theoretically disproved by its production in the laboratory by Messrs. Faraday and Stodart without carbon from a combination of iron with iridium and osmium. The nature and qualities of steel, indeed, evade exact definition, and Sir Henry Bessemer declares that it is as impossible to draw a hard-and-fast line between it and soft iron as between the colour-bands of the rainbow. The name would be extended by one set of experts to all such iron as has been cast in a malleable ingot after undergoing complete fusion, while those of Germany, Austria, and Sweden retain the older terminology, defining steel as metal capable of being hardened so as to resist the file. Its mechanical properties and physical structure are equally open to dispute, and metallurgists differ as to the respective limits of elasticity and resisting power, the specific effects of various indurating processes, and the manner in which its constituent elements act and react on each other.

In practice, however, the principles of the manufacture of steel have been settled for ages, and are applied in two opposite ways. By the direct process what is called "natural steel" is produced by decarburizing cast-iron to the requisite degree; by the indirect

process, artificial or "cemented steel" is obtained by restoring a sufficiency of carbon to iron previously purified.

The conversion of iron, or iron ore, by the first of these methods, is an art as old as the dawn of history, and the Chalybians, occupants of a district of Armenia bordering on the Black Sea, termed by Herodotus "a people of ironworkers," were credited with its invention. Mention is made of steel in the Book of Job, Homer is believed to refer to it, and Hesiod distinguishes between "black" and "bright" iron. Pliny enumerates it together with the most precious commodities imported from China, and among other items of the tribute paid by Porus to Alexander the Great, we find thirty pounds of "wootz" or Indian steel.

The patient Hindoo still produces by his primitive methods this much-prized metal, and in a crucible no larger than a chimney-pot over a rude clay furnace fanned by a goat-skin bellows, fuses from the ore a small "bloom" \* or lump of steel, of a quality unattained by European metallurgy. The fuel used is very pure charcoal, and in the crucible is put some chopped wood of *Cassia auriculata* with green leaves of *Convolvulus laurifolia* or *Ipomoea*, and of the ak or madur (*Calotropus gigantea*), a large Asclepiad. Thus was produced the raw material of the famous Damascus sword-blades, and from it native armourers still forge weapons of the finest temper.

Of early European methods in use down to a comparatively recent date, the most interesting was the Catalan process, remarkable for deriving its furnace blast from the draught caused by falling water. The apparatus for this purpose, called a *trompe*, consisted of a cistern raised some twenty or thirty feet above an air-chest, with which it was connected by a vertical tube, the water, admitted by a throttle-valve, carried with it in falling a mass of air sucked in through two oblique openings, called "aspirators," in the top of the tube, to be then led through pipes to the furnace. The ore smelted in these Pyrenean forges was of very pure quality, and from the resulting steel were manufactured those matchless Toledo swords which could be coiled in a box like a watch-spring.

Of later invention than these primitive methods for obtaining "natural steel" from the ore, were the processes for hardening malleable iron by restoring a proportion of its original carbon. These are chiefly two. The first consists in immersing wrought-iron in a bath of molten cast-iron, of whose superfluous carbon it absorbs enough for its acieration; in the second, called the cementation process, the wrought-iron, packed in layers of "cement," a

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\* From the Anglo-Saxon *bloma*, a lump or mass of metal.

mixture of powdered charcoal with 10 per cent. of ashes and common salt, is heated to redness, when it becomes permeated with the carbon from without inwards, a result scientifically inexplicable, as it is an axiom that two solids cannot mutually interpenetrate each other. The resulting product, called "blister steel," from the vesicles on its surface, becomes "shear steel," of a quality adapted for those implements, when cut in pieces and hammered at a welding heat, or "double shear steel," if the process be repeated.

Iron-smelting was so extensively carried on by the Romans in Britain, that the soil for miles round Monmouth and Ross is formed of the cinder of their forges, and the blast furnaces in the Forest of Dean have for over 300 years been largely supplied with Roman scoriae, containing sometimes 30 to 40 per cent. of metal. From the early slag being found mainly on hill-tops it is conjectured that air-bloomeries were then in use, receiving their draught through passages excavated in the direction of the prevailing wind. Lead was smelted in furnaces of this description in Derbyshire as late as the seventeenth century, but long before that time blast-bloomeries, fanned by a bellows, had come into use elsewhere.

At the epoch of the Norman Conquest, the forging of iron was the chief industry of the city of Gloucester, whose taxes were paid in bars of that metal. The export of iron was prohibited in the 28th year of Edward III. under penalty of forfeiture of twice the quantity, and in 1483 foreign competition was excluded by an Act forbidding the importation of tools, such as shears, knives, and scissors.

The steel trade thus domiciled in England, had migrated thither from Germany, and the names of the foreign artificers then settled on the Derwent, near Newcastle-on-Tyne, still survive in the district. The first forges at Sheffield were set up at the foot of the Castle Hill, by a group of foreign armourers, early summoned thither to supply the requirements of the warlike House of Talbot. Chaucer's mention of the "Sheffield whittle" proves the locality to have been continuously identified with the steel trade for over 500 years.

But England, with her comparatively limited area of forest, could only carry on metallurgical operations on a very narrow scale, while restricted to the use of charcoal fuel. In the sixteenth century a panic as to the exhaustion of the wood supply led to the passing of the Acts of 1558 and 1581, prohibiting all further extension of the iron manufacture and the erection of new furnaces. Hence the necessity for devising a means of burning pit-coal for smelting in some form in which its sulphurous and gaseous exhalations might not act injuriously on the

metal. Dud Dudley, son of Lord Dudley, mastered the secret as early as 1619, but died without divulging it, and the credit of re-discovering it belongs to one of a remarkable family of iron-masters. The first of these was Abraham Darby, who established in 1704 a brass foundry at Bristol, called the Baptist Mills. Dutch workmen were employed here, but when their master proposed to introduce an innovation, substituting iron for the metal in use, and casting it in moulds of sand, they proved incapable of carrying out his ideas. The attempt to do so seemed hopeless until chance sent a new hand into his employment.

At this time [says Dr. Percy, "Metallurgy of Iron and Steel"] a Welsh shepherd boy, named John Thomas, succeeded in rescuing a flock of his master's sheep from a snow-drift; and later, in the spring of the same year, during heavy rain and the melting of the snow, he swam a river to fetch home a herd of mountain cattle. These he collected and drove to the river, but the ford had now become a boiling torrent. He nevertheless crossed it on the back of an ox, and brought home the whole herd in safety. As a reward for his courage his master presented him with four of the sheep which he had saved. He sold their wool in order to buy better clothing for himself, and afterwards disposed of the sheep, so that he might have money wherewith to travel to Bristol and "seek his fortune." Afraid of being pressed for a soldier if found in Bristol out of place, as it was then the time of the Duke of Marlborough's wars, he requested his master to recommend him as an apprentice to a relative who was one of the partners of the Baptist Mills. The boy was accordingly sent into the Brassworks until he should procure employment. As he was looking on during some of the trials of the Dutch workmen to cast iron, he said to Abraham Darby that he "thought he saw how they had missed it." He begged to be allowed to try, and he and Abraham Darby remained alone in the workshop the same night for the purpose. Before morning they had cast an iron pot. The boy Thomas entered into an agreement to serve Abraham Darby and keep the secret. He was enticed by the offer of double wages to leave his master, but he continued nobly faithful, and afterwards showed his fidelity to his master's widow and children in their evil days. From 1709 to 1828 the family of Thomas were confidential and much valued agents to the descendants of Abraham Darby. For more than 100 years after the night in which Thomas and his master made their successful experiment of producing an iron casting in a mould of fine sand with its two wooden frames and its air-holes, the same process was practised and kept secret at Colebrook Dale, with plugged keyholes and barred doors.

This picturesque dell among the spurs of the Wrekin, whither Abraham Darby eventually removed, was the scene of a still more memorable experiment. His widow and family underwent a period of adversity owing to the dishonesty of their guardian

after his death in 1717 ; but his son, another Abraham Darby, retrieved their fortunes, when old enough to enter on the management of the business in 1730. Devoting his energies to the substitution of pit-coal for charcoal, of which the supply was rapidly failing, he resolved to treat it as his charcoal-burners did wood, subjecting it to a process of slow combustion, and then proceeded to experiment on the new fuel.

He, himself [says Dr. Percy], watched the filling of his furnaces during six days and nights, having no regular sleep, and taking his meals on the furnace-top. On the sixth evening, after many disappointments, the experiment succeeded, and the iron ran out well. He then fell asleep in the bridge-house at the top of his old-fashioned furnace, so soundly, that his men could not wake him, and carried him sleeping to his house, a quarter of a mile distant. From that time (1735) his success was assured.

Thus was achieved the conversion of coal into coke, with the result of placing England at the head of the iron trade of the world, by rendering her vast stores of mineral fuel available for the manufacture. The fabrication of steel meantime was still in its infancy, for its first modern improver was a contemporary of Abraham Darby. A clock-maker by profession, Benjamin Huntsman, born in Lincolnshire in 1704, was started on his career of metallurgical experiment by observing the inferiority of the metal supplied from Germany for the delicate mechanism of his trade. At the village of Attercliffe, a few miles south of Sheffield, he devoted himself from about 1740 to the production of an improved metal, with such indifferent success at first, that he is said to have buried, to secure secrecy, several hundredweight of defective steel resulting from his failures. The process by which ordinary blister steel was fused in the crucible, and cast in a homogeneous ingot, was, however, at last achieved by him, and holds its own to this day, having been, until the advent of that of Bessemer, the only method in practical use. Cast-steel became immediately saleable at from £50 to £100 a ton, while wootz, the Indian metal, had previously commanded the almost fabulous price of £10,000.

Huntsman found a ready sale for his steel in the foreign market, though the Sheffield cutlers grumbled at it as too hard for their purposes. They were not, however, above pirating the secret of its manufacture, which, being unprotected by patent, was carried on at night by workmen sworn not to divulge the process. A dishonourable stratagem was resorted to by an iron-founder, named Walker, who, disguised as a beggarman, presented himself at the workshop one bleak and snowy winter's night, craving shelter from the elements. While feigning sleep, he

was able to observe every detail of the process, and carried away the full recipe with him in the morning.

The next advance of any importance in the refinement of iron, was the invention of the puddling process by Henry Cort in 1784. This consists of the decarbonization of molten pig-iron by the action of the atmosphere, with which it is brought into contact by being agitated on the bed of a reverberatory furnace. The carbon combines with the oxygen of the air, while a large proportion of the phosphorus and sulphur are carried off in the slag. This result is aided by what is called "fettling," the addition of the substance known as "blue billy" or "purple ore," an impure ferric oxide produced by the decomposition of iron pyrites in vitriol works. The first stage of puddling is called "boiling pig," from the violent effervescence of scum and cinder that then takes place. The agitation of the metal by means of a long metal stirrer, called a "rabble," goes on until it shows signs of "coming to nature," developing a granular texture, and solidifying as it loses its carbon contents. The coagulating masses are then caked into balls of about 80 lbs. by the puddler, until the whole has been separated from the slag and cinder. The labour of puddling is very severe, and a large proportion of puddlers die under fifty from inflammatory affections of the chest, to which the heat of the furnace renders them specially liable.

The present century is marked by four great strides in the manufacture of steel and iron. First came the invention of the hot-blast for furnaces; second, that of the Bessemer process for oxygenating iron by a cold atmospheric current; third, the introduction of the Siemens-Martin method of producing cast-steel, with great economy of fuel, in a regenerative stove; and fourth, the discovery of the basic process for the elimination of phosphorus and sulphur from Bessemer steel, thus rendering the cheaper phosphoric iron of Cleveland and the Moselle available for conversion.

The simple substitution of hot for cold air in the furnace-blast, introduced in 1828, by Mr. James Beaumont Neilson, a Glasgow engineer, not only effected a saving of fuel varying from one-half to two-thirds with the quality of coal, but also enabled it to be burned raw instead of in the form of coke. So contrary was the innovation to received ideas, that many ironmasters, misled by the greater apparent activity of combustion in winter, were in the habit of using artificial means to refrigerate the air-current, overlooking the expenditure of the furnace heat necessarily spent in raising its temperature. The great blast-furnaces are now universally fanned with a fiery breath, heated to 600° or sometimes 800° Fahr., sufficient to liquefy lead or even zinc. Delivered at a pressure of 4 lbs. per square inch, equal to a hundredweight

on the surface of a man's hand, the burning current rushes in at the rate of 10,000 cubic feet a minute, a volume of air sufficient to fill a room 50 feet long by 20 feet wide and 10 feet high.

While the iron trade entered on a phase of active development under the impetus of this discovery, the steel manufacture, of which Sheffield retained its historical monopoly, remained stationary for more than a century after the introduction of Huntsman's method. Raw steel, principally made from Swedish ore, was sold to the refiners at £18 a ton, while the finished product varied in price from £22 per ton for coach-spring steel, to £60 per ton for shear steel. So costly an article was naturally sparingly used, and the whole annual production in England in 1855 did not exceed 40,000 to 50,000 tons—a figure which, in recent years, has been frequently doubled by a single firm.

For in that year was initiated the rapid phase of progress which has since worked a revolution in the trade. Henry Bessemer took out his first patent. The steps by which he was gradually led to do so are interwoven with the course of a most interesting career.

The parentage of genius mostly eludes research, but in this case is easily traced, as it descended direct from father to son. A Frenchman by birth, and occupying a high position in the Mint of his native country, Anthony Bessemer was, at twenty-five, a member of the French Academy of Sciences. Appointed by Robespierre, in the evil days of the Revolution, to the management of a municipal bakery, he nearly fell a victim to popular fury during a bread riot; but, after being thrown into prison, managed to escape to England. Here, as in France, he obtained employment in the Mint, while his ingenuity found scope in the practice of an art termed by his son "the true alchemy." This consisted in a method of precipitating the gold, dissolved, along with impurities, in the liquor—a solution of alum, salt, and saltpetre, used by jewellers for cleaning it. He became a wholesale purchaser of this auriferous fluid, but the secret of his treatment of it died with him. By this, and other ingenious inventions, among which was an improvement in type-founding, he realized an independence, enabling him to purchase a country place called Charlton, in Hertfordshire.

Here, in 1813, was born his youngest son, Henry, destined to inherit and perfect his father's gift of mechanical contrivance. Having come to London at eighteen, in pursuance of his profession as a modeller and designer, he was struck by the imperfection of the means then employed for attaching the official stamp to deeds, admitting of its easy removal and subsequent re-use. He designed a perforating stamp to obviate this fraud on the revenue, and was promised by the authorities the place of Superintendent

of Stamps, with a salary of £500 or £600 a year, in lieu of a money payment for his invention.

Full of hopeful pleasure at the prospect thus secured, he hastened with the news to the young lady he was engaged to, who by a casual suggestion started him on a fresh course of investigation. The result was an improved piece of mechanism for inserting a movable date into the stamp, which, among its other advantages, abrogated, as he did not fail to perceive, the necessity for his promised place of Superintendent. A scrupulous sense of honour, however, and perhaps the inventor's love for the offspring of his brain, induced him to communicate his improved method to the heads of the Stamp Office, where it was immediately adopted, and is in use to this day. Will it be credited, even among the records of official dishonesty, that the inventor was deprived of his promised post, and received no remuneration, direct or indirect, for a discovery which has secured to the revenue a saving of £100,000 a year?

Too proud to press his claims, he turned his thoughts to other schemes. Observing that gold paint for illumination and ornamental designs sold for 11*2s.* per lb., while made from materials worth a comparatively trifling sum, he set himself to devise means by which this discrepancy could be turned to account. Two years of patient study produced the desired result, and with materials which cost only 4*s.* per lb. he produced, by the aid of a small hand-machine, a pigment for which he found ready sale at 80*s.* A friend was then persuaded to invest £10,000 in the purchase of enlarged plant; and five self-acting machines were procured, constructed, in order to ensure secrecy, as no patent was taken out, in sections, at different establishments. These engines, whose efficiency was equal to that of sixty skilled operatives, worked in a room which was never entered save by Bessemer and five trusted assistants; their automatic machinery being set in motion by a steam-engine outside, manipulated in obedience to the ringing of a bell. The profits, at first 1,000, are still 300 per cent., the concern being now in the hands of the surviving assistants, to whom Sir Henry Bessemer some years ago made it over, as a reward for their fidelity.

The public interest in ordnance improvement during the war-like ferment of the Crimean War, by directing the inventor's thoughts into this channel, led him to take the first step towards metallurgical discovery. A contrivance for giving a rotatory motion to elongated shot fired from smooth-bore guns by perforating the projectile, was favourably received by the Emperor of the French, after its summary rejection at Woolwich. During a subsequent course of experiments at Vincennes, the casual remark of an officer as to the necessity for improved gun-metal

to bear the increased strain of the new projectiles, was the spark which fired a fresh train of thought in the investigator's busy brain. He now devoted himself to mastering the science of metallurgy, with which, up to this, he had been totally unacquainted; and, after some months of practical and theoretical study, established an experimental workshop at Baxter House, St. Pancras, where, after repeated failures, he cast a small gun of much improved metal, worthy to be presented to his imperial patron.

He was now on the eve of his great discovery, founded, like most startling innovations, on a very familiar truth. Every schoolboy knows that a red-hot nail, whirled rapidly round at the end of a string, becomes immediately white-hot, and by the emission of a train of sparks gives evidence of lively combustion. Nor is there a village smithy where nails are not daily forged by the application of the same truth, the draught of the bellows, directed on them as they are hammered on the anvil, sufficing to raise them from red to white heat. The oxygen of the air here ignites the carbon of the glowing metal, which at that temperature cannot encounter it without combustion.

It was while lying on a bed of sickness, resulting from over-work and anxiety, that Sir Henry Bessemer, by one of those brain-leaps which seem to bridge some incomplete circuit of thought, divined the possibility of utilizing this latent force on a large scale. The conversion of cast-iron into malleable metal by the consumption of its own carbon-fuel, under the influence of a powerful pneumatic blast, was the idea thus shaped in his mind, which he next proceeded to test by a rude experiment.

He constructed [we are told\*] a circular vessel measuring three feet in diameter and five feet in height and capable of holding seven cwt. of iron, and he ordered a small powerful air-engine, and a quantity of crude iron to be put down at the premises at St. Pancras that he had hired for carrying on his experiments. The name of these premises was Baxter House, formerly the residence of Sir Richard Baxter, and the simple experiment we are now going to describe has rendered that house for ever famous. The primitive apparatus being ready, the engine was made to force streams of air under high pressure through the bottom of the vessel, which was lined with fire-clay, and the stoker was told to pour the metal when it was sufficiently melted in at the top of it. A cast-iron plate—one of those lids which commonly cover the coal-holes in the pavement—was hung over the top of the converter; and all being got ready the stoker in some bewilderment poured in the metal. Instantly out came a volcanic eruption of such dazzling coruscations as had never been seen before. The dangling pot-lid dissolved in the gleaming volume of flame, and the

\* " Creators of the Age of Steel." By W. T. Jeans.

chain by which it hung grew first red and then white as the various stages of the process were unfolded to the gaze of the astonished spectators. The air-cock to regulate the blast was beside the converting vessel, and no one dared to go near it, much less to deliberately shut it. In this dilemma, however, they were soon relieved by finding that the process of decarburization or combustion had expended all its fury, and, most wonderful of all, the result was steel!

The vivid eruption of air and metal here described was, in short, what is now known as the Bessemer process, and by this its first operation was inaugurated a metallurgical revolution. Mr. Bessemer's paper on "The Manufacture of Iron and Steel without Fuel," read by him at the meeting of the British Association at Cheltenham in 1856, embodying the results obtained, electrified the scientific world, and reduced the assembled magnates of learning to the silence of stupefaction. The author claimed to have produced a temperature never before attained in the arts by the mere passage of a stream of cold air through a mass of cast-iron—this great evolution of heat being due to the consumption of the carbon and silicon in the metal itself.

A mere blast of cold air [he declared] forced into melted crude iron, is capable of raising its temperature to such a degree as to retain it in a perfect state of fluidity after it has lost all its carbon, and is in the condition of malleable iron, which in the highest heat of our forges only becomes softened into a pasty mass. But such is the excessive temperature that I arrive at, that I am enabled not only to retain the fluidity of the metal, but to create so much surplus heat as to re-melt all the crop-heads, ingot-runners, and other scrap that is made throughout the process, and thus bring them, without labour or fuel, into ingots of a quality equal to the rest of the charge of new metal.

There was no attempt at discussion on this sensational address, but, within three weeks of its delivery, Mr. Bessemer and his partner sold £26,500 worth of licences for the use of his patent.

A second experiment took place at Baxter House on Sept. 1, 1856, in presence of a number of practical and scientific experts. One ironmaster at first refused to believe that the metal he had seen run liquid into the mould could be anything but ordinary cast-iron, until a blow heaved at it with an axe by Mr. Bessemer without indenting its surface, and an equally fruitless attempt to abrade it with the file, conclusively established its true character. "We must alter our methods," said those present, reluctantly convinced of the unwelcome truth.

But the prospects of the new invention were suddenly darkened, when trials made at various works, even under the supervision of the patentee, resulted only in the production of unsound metal, "rotten hot and rotten cold," as one manufacturer contemptuously

termed it. The vaunted discovery was regarded as a burst bubble, or, in the words of a contemporary, as "a meteor that had passed through the metallurgical world, but had gone out with all its sparks."

A further series of costly experiments, extending over two years, revealed at last the cause of failure. It was remembered that the first trial had been made with Blenavon iron, an exceptionally pure quality, and on reverting to its use success once more ensued. Phosphorus, largely present in ordinary English ore, was, it was then learned, the deleterious ingredient not removed by the process, and the use of iron made from Swedish ore or the Cumberland hematites, was found to ensure complete success. The attempt to discover a means of dephosphorizing inferior metal was abandoned for the time, to be subsequently renewed by another inventor.

The new method was by this time perfected in the contrivance of the ingenious mechanism of the Bessemer converter. A bottle-shaped recipient, capable of holding a charge of from five to fifteen tons of metal, is suspended on an axis so as to swing vertically or horizontally at will. It is laid in the latter position to receive its charge, which is so calculated as not to cover the tuyeres or air-nozzles in the bottom, some twenty in number, as long as it is so placed, this precaution being necessary to obviate their being clogged by the metal before the blast is turned on. The latter, at a pressure of fifteen to twenty cubic metres of air per ton per minute, acts automatically as soon as the converter is erected, and, the "blow" runs its course in from twenty to thirty minutes. Firebrick composed of "ganister," powdered stone of silicious composition, is the material used for lining the converter, into which the cast-iron is now generally turned direct from the smelting-furnace, thus combining its reduction and conversion in a single operation.

Mr. Bessemer, at the Institute of Civil Engineers, May 24, 1859, thus described the result of turning on the blast:—

The process is thus in an instant brought into full activity, and small though powerful jets of air spring upwards through the fluid mass. The air expanding in volume, divides itself into globules, or bursts violently upwards, carrying with it some hundredweight of fluid metal, which again falls into the boiling mass below. Every part of the apparatus trembles under the violent agitation thus produced, a roaring flame rushes from the mouth of the vessel, and as the process advances, it changes its violet hue to orange, and finally to a voluminous pure white flame. The sparks, which at first were large like those of ordinary foundry iron, change to small hissing points, and then gradually give way to soft floating specks of bluish light, as the state of malleable iron is approached. . . . The heat during the process

has risen from the comparatively low temperature of melted pig-iron, to one vastly greater than the highest known welding-heat by which malleable iron only becomes sufficiently soft to be shaped by the blows of the hammer; but here it becomes perfectly fluid, and even rises so much above the melting-point as to admit of its being poured from the converter into a founder's ladle, and from thence transferred to several successive moulds.

The apparatus by which this transmutation is effected is scarcely less wonderful than the process itself.

Those who have never seen this machinery in operation [says the author of "Iron in all Ages"] can form but a faint idea of its exquisite adaptation to the purposes to be accomplished. A Bessemer converter, weighing with its contents from twenty to thirty tons, is moved at will on its axis by the touch of a man or boy, and receives in response to the same touch a blast so powerful that every particle of its many tons of metallic contents is heated to the highest temperature ever known in the mechanic arts. The honour of inventing this machinery is all Mr. Bessemer's own.

The "blow," if allowed to work itself out by consuming all the self-contained fuel of the metal, converts the latter into malleable iron, more completely decarbonized than steel. This intermediate state should consequently, according to theory, be reached by arresting the process at a given stage. In practice, however, the point cannot be determined with sufficient nicety, even though the aid of the spectroscope, in which the yellow sodium line is conspicuous, has been called in to analyze the progressive phases of gaseous combustion. The simpler expedient of recarbonizing the iron is resorted to, and an addition of fresh pig-iron was originally made to the charge for this purpose. Another metal was, however, subsequently found more efficacious. The effect of manganese in promoting the production of steel was discovered as far back as 1839, by the unfortunate Josiah Heath, who having left a loophole for piracy by a trifling verbal oversight in the wording of his patent, wore out fortune, health, and life itself in the unsuccessful attempt to maintain it through fourteen years of litigation. The idea was worked out by Robert Mushet, who in 1857 took out a three years' patent for recarbonizing Bessemer iron by the German metal, spiegeleisen, a compound of iron and manganese. This is the method now in general use, and Sir Henry Bessemer has settled an annuity of £300 on the inventor, whose legal right of course lapsed with the triennial term of his patent.

The first trial of the metal produced at Baxter House was made by Messrs. Galloway of Manchester, who substituted it for ordinary steel in their workshop without its detection by the operatives.

Thus emboldened, they entered into partnership with the patentee for the erection of works at Sheffield, where they soon began underselling the trade by £20 a ton. Orders naturally flowed in, and rival manufacturers found themselves compelled to take out licenses for the process at the rate of £1 per ton on rails, and £2 on all other forms of steel. By the sale of these royalties Sir Henry Bessemer was at one time in receipt of an income of £100,000 a year, and had in 1879, after the expiry of his patent, realized £1,057,000. The works at Sheffield were sold at the close of the fourteen years' term of partnership for twenty-four times the amount of the original paid-up capital, and "each of the five partners," says Mr. Jeans,\* "retired with eighty-one times the amount of his original subscribed capital, or an average of nearly cent. per cent. every two months—a result probably unprecedented in the annals of commerce."

Such were the pecuniary results of the Bessemer process to the inventor. Its effect on the market was immediately to lower the price of different classes of steel from £50, £60, and even £90, to £11, £12, and £18 per ton. This reduction has been continuous, and Mr. Bessemer's prediction in 1864, that steel rails would one day sell as low as £4 10s. a ton, was more than verified in 1886, when they dropped to £3 7s. 6d. The increase in demand has been proportionate to this reduction in price, and the 40,000 to 50,000 tons of steel, which represented the total British manufacture for 1855, makes a very poor show beside subsequent figures. Thus the make of Bessemer steel alone, which in 1868 amounted to 200,000 tons, had grown in 1878 to 807,000, and in 1885 to over two million tons between rails and ingots. A capital of £2,140,000 is now invested in Bessemer plant throughout the United Kingdom, and as far back as 1878 over 100 converters were at work. New industrial centres have sprung up in the districts producing ores suitable for conversion, and Barrow-in-Furness, which from a fishing village with but 300 inhabitants in 1845, had expanded in 1875 to a population of 42,000, is an instance of such growth. The Barrow Steel Works, situated in its neighbourhood, form in themselves an operative city, for here 3,000 workmen are employed in a factory, which consumes 300,000 tons of pig-iron a year, and with its sixteen great blast-furnaces, to which as many converters are attached, can turn out 2,000 tons of steel a week. The Company, of which the Duke of Devonshire is chairman, pays a dividend of 20 per cent. per annum, and employs, including its miners, 10,000 workmen.

The United States, with their 204,000 square miles of coal-

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\* "History of Steel."

fields, are Bessemer manufacturers on a still larger scale, and produced in 1886 two million tons of ingots and one and a half million tons of rails, making an aggregate of three and a half million tons. A new city in Indiana, called into existence by the happy juxtaposition in its neighbourhood of high quality ore and anthracite coal specially adapted for the furnace as it is a sort of natural coke, recognizes the inventor as the author of its being by bearing the name of Bessemer. The total production of Bessemer steel throughout the world amounted in 1882 to over four million tons, at a saving of £40 per ton, and 3,300 converters had been erected.

The actual scale of the Bessemer process is of great practical utility. Thus large plates produced by it are relatively cheaper than smaller ones, instead of as formerly, very much more costly, while their superiority is represented by the fact that every riveted joint diminishes their resisting power from 100 lbs. to 70 lbs. In ordnance construction, again, the advantage of being able to cast masses of metal weighing from ten to twenty tons is self-evident, obviating such elaborate expedients as building up a gun piecemeal, or forging it from a coil of metal.

The superior quality of the Bessemer steel has been proved by various tests. Its high tensile strength was established by a series of experiments at Woolwich Arsenal, where, according to the report of Colonel Eardley Wilmot, R.A., it was found to bear a strain of from 150,000 lbs. to 160,000 lbs. to the square inch, while boiler plates made from it resisted a pressure of from 68,314 lbs. to 73,000 lbs., as compared to one of 45,000 lbs. to 57,120 lbs. borne by those of other manufacturers. Its extensibility is equally remarkable, and a bar 3 inches in diameter may be doubled when cold under the hammer, without showing a trace of fracture, though it has been extended on the outside of the fold from 12 to  $16\frac{3}{4}$  inches, and compressed on the inside from 12 to  $7\frac{1}{4}$  inches, creating between its previously equal sides a difference in length of  $9\frac{1}{2}$  inches. A striking proof of its ductility was given by Mr. Parks of Birmingham, when he undertook to treat it as though it were copper, and actually converted a disk of steel  $\frac{3}{4}$ -inch thick; into a cup, by punching it through a die, reducing its diameter from 23 to 11 inches, and hollowing its flat surface into a concavity of 10 inches deep.

The tendency of the metal to form bubbles owing to inequality of contraction in cooling, was at first counteracted by the addition of silicon, but was more radically corrected by Sir Joseph Whitworth's method of compressing liquid steel in cylindrical moulds, when the enclosed column loses one-eighth of its height, and gains in homogeneity of structure.

The uses in which the new metal has supplanted iron are

growing year by year. In shipbuilding its combination of lightness and strength enables a greater rate of speed to be obtained, and larger profits consequently to be realized. The steel-built steamer, *Servia*, constructed on the Clyde for the Cunard Company in 1881, attained the speed of  $22\frac{1}{2}$  statute miles an hour, representing a considerable economy on every voyage. Steel vessels formed a quarter of the total tonnage of shipping built in 1883, and this proportion is likely to increase.

But it is in railway construction that the superiority of Bessemer steel over iron is most strikingly shown. An iron rail, exposed to heavy traffic, is so rapidly ground away by the crushing force of the locomotive wheel, that it requires to be shifted, so as to bring its second face into play, once in every three months, thus entailing, in addition to the cost of renewal, serious inconvenience from the partial interruption of the line. Yet when Mr. Bessemer, in 1861, suggested the use of steel rails to Mr. Ramsbottom of the London and North-Western Railway, the latter exclaimed in horror, asking if he wished to see him tried for manslaughter. The rails, nevertheless, after being subjected to a variety of tests, were laid down at Crewe, where the bulk of the up-traffic passed over them, on the day of the Prince of Wales's marriage, March 10, 1863. When taken up in 1881, they were still serviceable, though the second face was nearly worn down, while iron rails in the same position wore out both faces in six months. Already 16,000 miles of British railway are laid with steel, and when the substitution shall have been effected over the total length of 25,000 miles, it is calculated that an annual saving of twenty millions sterling will be effected. The maximum production of steel rails in England was reached in 1882, when 1,235,785 tons were manufactured : but this was surpassed in America in 1886, with the larger figure of 1,500,000. Steel sleepers have also been introduced with advantage, and locomotives are largely constructed of the same metal.

The Bessemer process was secured for fourteen years by no less than thirty patents, taken out in the triennial term 1855-57. They form but a small fraction of the whole number of patents—120 in all—taken out for various inventions by Sir Henry Bessemer, who has paid the Patent Office £10,000 in fees, his specifications filling two, and his drawings seven bulky volumes of its literature.

About the time that he achieved his great discovery, a young foreign student in London was engaged in investigating problems of practical physics. Economy of waste heat was the direction principally taken by the researches of Charles William Siemens, and the result was the invention of the regenerative gas-furnace perfected about 1861, in which, by an arrangement

of accumulators or brick chambers for stopping the heated air, a very high temperature is reached, enabling steel to be produced by what is called the "open-hearth" process. This consists in melting pig-iron in a dish-shaped recipient or reverberatory furnace, forming a "bath" of molten metal, to which iron ore or steel scrap are added as decarbonizers, deficiency of carbon being afterwards supplied, as in the Bessemer process, by a dose of spiegeleisen. Cast-steel is thus produced, in quantities varying from 5 to 15 tons at each operation or "heat," according to the size of the furnace, with the expenditure of but one-sixth the fuel used in previous methods. To the use of iron ore as a decarbonizer, according to Sir William Siemens' original design, that of steel scrap, or wrought-iron, was added by another inventor, and both methods, respectively known as the "pig and ore" and "pig and scrap" processes, are now generally used in combination, the joint name Siemens-Martin, compounded of the patronymics of the two patentees, being applied to the system.

The superiority of "open-hearth" over Bessemer steel, is a moot point, denied by American manufacturers. A Siemens-Martin furnace is, however, a useful auxiliary to Bessemer works, as it utilizes all waste metal, rail-ends and scrap steel, while it may also be turned to profitable account in re-melting worn-out steel rails. Over 150 such furnaces have been constructed in England, and the Landore Siemens Steel Company, established in 1867, manufactures by this method on a very large scale. The production of open-hearth steel is rapidly gaining ground, having risen from 77,500 tons in 1873, to 461,965 tons in 1884. The combined effect of the open-hearth and Bessemer methods on the industry of the world, has been to increase its steel production fifty-fold within the last quarter of a century.

But the Bessemer process, though mechanically complete, required to be supplemented by some means of extending its range so as to include inferior ores containing a large percentage of phosphorus. Of English ores, only the hematites, forming but 12 per cent. of the entire, were available for conversion, and this fact had largely enhanced their price. To correct this defect, it was necessary to provide a "base," or substance capable of combining with an acid, in order to remove the phosphorus evolved in the shape of phosphoric acid. This problem was solved by two young men, aged respectively twenty-five and twenty-six, Mr. Sidney Gilchrist Thomas, a scientific chemist of London, and Mr. Percy C. Gilchrist, his cousin and partner in research. From the so-called "basic," or Thomas-Gilchrist process patented by them in November, 1877, some anticipate results scarcely inferior to those of the original Bessemer, called in contradistinction to it the "acid" process.

Lime, in the form of a hardened concrete, is the basic material substituted for ganister in lining the Bessemer converter, a small quantity, mixed with blue billy or other iron oxide, being also added to the charge of metal in the later stage of the process known as the "overblow." Even in the case of pig-iron containing phosphorus in the proportion of 1·5 to 2 per cent., its complete elimination is the result, as it passes into the slag in the shape of phosphate of lime.

Sir Lowthian Bell \* has pointed out that the yearly make of Cleveland iron contains an amount of phosphorus which, while deteriorating the value of the metal by the sum of four millions, is in itself worth a quarter of a million. This product renders basic slag, containing from 15 to 20 per cent. of phosphoric acid and 40 per cent. of lime, highly valuable as manure, being found, especially for root crops and on clay soil, equal to the same weight of mineral superphosphates or ground coprolites.

From ores highly charged with phosphorus, such as those of Cleveland and the Moselle, metal can be produced by this method equal to that yielded by the best Spanish ores. For the year ending October, 1886, the total make of basic steel and ingot iron was 1,313,631 tons, an increase of 368,314 tons, or 38 per cent. over the previous year. Of this total only 258,466 tons were made in England, while Germany, Austria, and Luxemburg manufactured nearly quadruple that amount, or 883,859 tons.

The invention of the basic process forms the last of the four epochs into which as many great innovations in iron and steel manufacture have divided the middle period of this century. The hot-blast prepared the way for the Bessemer and Siemens-Martin processes, to the former of which the basic modification promises to give an ever-widening extension. Thus each is not so much the rival as the adjunct and corollary of the other. It is a somewhat singular circumstance that while modern advances in the steel trade have all been worked out in England, the three principal inventors were of foreign extraction. Huntsman was born of German parents, Bessemer's father was a Frenchman, and Sir William Siemens, born at Lenthe in Holland, was English only by adoption. Something of British tenacity added to their inherited qualities helped, no doubt, to place these men in the forefront of mechanical discovery.

Of minor and more recent improvements, perhaps the most noteworthy is that of Mr. Gjers of Middlesborough, who introduced in 1882 a method for rolling steel blooms into rails by their own initial heat. Transferred before cooling to "soaking ovens," lined with heated firebrick, their high internal tempera-

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\* "The Chemical Phenomena of Iron Smelting," 1870-72.

ture becomes equally diffused through their mass until they are sufficiently softened throughout to be rolled at once, without fresh heating in the furnace.

While the "special steels" manufactured by the new method are gradually ousting iron from use for all constructive purposes, Sheffield is still *facile princeps* in the cutlery trade, for which the more costly "crucible steel," carefully fused in covered vessels, is alone used. This is the quality also produced at the great Krupp factory at Essen, the larger castings being obtained by the co-operation of squads of workmen, drilled to act with automatic precision in pouring the contents of a number of crucibles into a single mould. Not only have Sir Henry Bessemer's patent rights been evaded here under a frivolous pretext, but the elaborate drawings prepared by him for the firm, under the idea that his privileges were to be respected, were availed of without any acknowledgment; and as his invention was also pirated in France, he has derived little benefit from its adoption on the Continent.

The contest for supremacy in the iron trade lies, however, entirely between England and the United States, who are running neck and neck for first place. Production of pig-iron, the raw material of all further manufacture, is the standard of comparison, and while it is believed that that of England for 1886 will not exceed 6,800,000 tons, that of America for the same year comes up to 5,600,000 tons, a figure which on that side of the Atlantic "beats the record."

The steel trade of the United States is declared, by one of the authorities of that country, to be "in an eminent degree the child of protective legislation."\* Fostered by the Morrill tariff of 1861, it made such rapid growth that, while in 1861 there were but thirteen steel factories in the country, there are now a sufficient number to turn out in a single year  $3\frac{1}{2}$  million tons of Bessemer steel alone. The protective duties, without which the trade in its infancy could never have stood up against British competition, are graduated for different products, amounting on some to as much as 50 per cent. American manufacturers are at a further advantage in the quality of the native ore, of which fully one-third is available for conversion by the acid Bessemer process. Indeed, were not the great mineral resources of the country in ore and fuel counterbalanced by the distances separating these products from each other and from the coast, it might be feared that the tables would eventually be turned on the older country, and American products in metal, as well as in food, disastrously swamp the English markets. As it is, the contin-

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\* "Iron in all Ages." By James M. Swank.

gency is probably remote, for so largely does transport handicap outward trade, that even in England, with its restricted areas, it has been found impossible to carry on the steel rail manufacture profitably save at an actual seaport, as goods for exportation will not bear the added cost of inland carriage.

Meantime, so largely do the requirements of the United States outstrip even their own vast producing power, that they are still our best market, taking in the year just passed (1886) one-fourth of the total British exports of iron and steel. And it was on the other side of the Atlantic that, about the middle of that year, the first glimmer of light on the commercial horizon indicated the lifting of the cloud of depression that had so long darkened the world. Although it was only the local iron trade to which, under the influence of a sudden increase in railroad construction, the original impulse was given, it was known by all mercantile authorities that the stimulus must necessarily communicate itself to the markets of this country. So entirely has this forecast been verified that the year, whose early months marked the very nadir of commercial lethargy, closed with a movement in the iron trade, the infallible indicator of national prosperity, which is compared to the great "boom" of 1879-80. The increase in exports for November alone amounted to 10,000 tons, while the total of 3,389,197 tons for the shipments of the year, despite the inactivity of its earlier months, showed a gain of 258,515 tons over those of 1885. The figures of the exports to the United States separately show how entirely this expansion is due to their demand, which more than doubled that of the preceding year, since the 397,688 tons of 1885 had grown to 803,632 tons in 1886. The item which bulks most largely in this total, is the steel rail in a partially completed state, technically termed a "bloom," in which condition, owing to tariff distinctions, it is at present prices more profitable to import it, to receive its final manipulation in the American rolling mills. The activity of this trade is shown by the fact that the shipments of steel blooms and billets to America have increased from 14,644 for 1885, to 105,680 tons for the past year.

The Board of Trade returns for 1886 show how sensible has been the improvement for its later months, since a large deficit in its earlier period remained to be made up. Thus against total exports of iron and steel for 1885, value £21,710,738, we have to set £21,722,951 for 1886; and against £2,092,816 worth of pig-iron in the former year, £2,252,944 in the latter. The increase in shipments to the United States was from £328,373 to £771,795, that in unwrought steel, principally rail blooms, being from £244,974 to £642,572.\*

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\* The improvement has been continuous during the first four months

Among remote customers for steel rails are Japan and China, the former having given two orders during the year for 10,000 tons to a Sheffield firm, and the latter having just begun to come into the market for the same article. Australasia and Canada, too, have increased their demand for them, counterbalancing a falling off in some of the other colonies.

Measured by droop in prices the depression, a recovery from which is evidenced by these cheering symptoms, only reached its deepest deep in July, 1886. Cleveland pig-iron then touched the figure of 29*s.*, the lowest it had fallen to for over thirty years, while the higher quality of Scotch iron sold for £1 18*s.*, and hematite metal for £2. Steel rails fell to £3 7*s.* 6*d.*, steel plates to £5 5*s.*, and iron ship-plates to £4 5*s.* per ton. Meantime, though the decline in production had been continuous since the maximum of 8,498,000 tons was reached in 1882, it had not kept pace with the shrinkage of demand; and stocks had gone on steadily increasing, so that from 1,698,978 tons at the close of 1883, they had grown to 2,352,169 by the close of 1885.

The reason of this lies in the conditions of all great industries, rendering arrest of production ruinous. A great blast-furnace so far resembles a living organism, that its functional activity cannot be suspended at will; and once "blown out," the process of "blowing in," as relighting is technically termed, is a tedious and delicate one. Its interior has to be partially built up with a wooden scaffolding to receive the ore and fuel, lest in their crude state they should fall down and choke the air-pipes through which its burning breath is drawn. The blast is then turned on so gradually that it is sometimes days, or even weeks, before the furnace is once more in full activity. As, moreover, a social catastrophe is involved in any large suspension of labour, while the inactivity of machinery represents heavy pecuniary loss, ironmasters in ordinary times of depression prefer to keep their furnaces in blast and accumulate stock in anticipation of a future recovery of prices, rather than face the consequences of cessation. So strongly does this feeling prevail in Germany, that manufacturers there, during the last year, have been producing cheap goods for export to this country at an actual loss to themselves, hoping to recoup themselves eventually, on the renewal of demand in their own markets, where the protective tariff gives them a command of prices.

Many English ironmasters, on the other hand, were beaten out of the field by the long period of stagnation culminating in

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of 1837, the value of total exports, £7,403,750, showing an increase of nearly half a million over the figure for the previous year, £6,946,977. Unwrought steel is set down at £729,420, as opposed to £385,098 for 1886.

the first half of 1886 ; and of 421 furnaces alight at the opening of that year, but 366 were still in blast on the 30th September. Thus the subsequent recovery came upon a market which had curtailed its make by an amount equal to the whole producing power of Scotland, tending to a speedier adjustment of the equilibrium of demand and supply. Before the opening of 1887, the "blowing in" of eleven furnaces, principally in the hematite centres, gave cheering promise for its future ; while a general rise of 3s. per ton on pig-iron showed that the heavy stocks, so long overheld, were beginning to slide off the hands of producers. It is noteworthy, as showing the continuance of the metallurgical revolution in progress, that the improvement has been restricted to steel products, as opposed to those of finished iron ; and that the increased demand for the former has more than counterbalanced the continuous falling off in the latter class of goods. Meantime, the low average price of steel throughout the year—£7 10s. per ton all round—shows that it is the cheaper "special steels" that have been most largely dealt in, as opposed to the finer and more costly crucible metal. The general buoyancy, however, extended also to the Sheffield trade ; and the *Times* correspondent, writing thence on January 7, 1887, described a general increase of activity, to which the improvement in the state of Ireland in recent months, slight as it is, has contributed its quota.

The iron trade, which, classified by value of exports, ranks third among national industries, surpassed only by the cotton and woollen manufactures, is, from its more numerous ramifications, a still surer index of commercial prosperity. While its recovery means to toiling thousands and millions the difference between comfort and destitution, it is not too much to say that there is not an individual throughout the length and breadth of the land who is not more or less directly affected by it. So closely are the interests of all classes intertwined in the complex woof of modern society, that a strain upon one of its threads weakens the whole texture ; and every furnace blown out in the North tells not only upon all trades and professions, but on the higher life of art and literature, of thought and culture. The great pulse of fire that quickens the heart of England cannot be slackened by a single beat, without an injurious reaction on every outcome of national vitality ; and those pillars of flame that gird her central horizon are so many beacons, that flare to heaven their record of her onward march in the van of progress.

E. M. CLERKE.

ART. V.—THE VENERABLE RICHARD WHITING,  
LAST ABBOT OF GLASTONBURY.

THE view from the Roman camp of Masborough, on the Mendip Hills of Somerset, is one to be remembered. The country is displayed before the eyes like a map. To the east the Mendips, like mighty waves of the sea, fall and rise in a succession of vales and hills till they are lost in the distance. Westward the prospect is more varied and attractive. The ground, which at the spectator's feet had just attained to the dignity of a mountain, sinks away to the level country which lies between it and the waters of the Bristol Channel. From this plain there rises an oddly formed hill, crowned with a tower, which cannot fail to arrest attention. Neither the glancing of the sunlight from the surface of the sea, some fifteen miles away, nor the glimpse that is caught between the trees of the grey towers and gables of the great cathedral church of Wells, nor yet the sight of the spire of Doultong, calling up memories of St. Aldhelm, can long restrain the eye from turning once again to gaze on the hill and square-shaped tower which stands so prominently out of the landscape. It is not, however, its natural peculiarity and situation, though these, indeed, are more than remarkable, that constitutes for most the chief attraction. It speaks to the mind as well as to the eye, for it is Nature's monument, pointing out a spot of more than ordinary interest. The dim shadows of tradition seem to hover over the hill and recall a past beyond the records of history; but, more than all, it calls to mind a deed of desecration and blood which was perpetrated in the evil days of Henry VIII.'s reign. In the hollow at its foot is Glastonbury, a name linked to the first memories of the Christian faith in England, and at the tower on its top, Richard Whiting, the last abbot of the monastery, with two of his monks, suffered death for conscience' sake. In these days, when the first steps have been taken in the process of the canonization of the Christian heroes who died for the faith in the persecutions of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, every record is of interest. In this belief, the story of the life, trials, and final suffering of the Venerable Richard Whiting, last abbot of Glastonbury, is here briefly told.

Richard Whiting was born early in the second half of the fifteenth century, and probably about the year 1460.\* The civil

\* It is stated he was about eighty years of age when he was martyred, which would have placed his birth about this year. The fact that he took his degree of M.A. at Cambridge in 1483 is the earliest record we have of his life.

war between the Houses of York and Lancaster was then at its height, and his boyhood must have been passed amid the popular excitement caused by the Wars of the Roses, and by the varied fortunes of the reign of Edward IV. His family was connected by blood with that of Bishop Stapleton of Exeter,\* the well-known benefactor of Exeter College, Oxford. In its principal branch it was possessed of considerable estates in Somerset as well as Devon, but Richard Whiting came from a younger and less important part of the family, which, amongst other property, held certain lands as tenants of the great abbey of Glastonbury, in the fertile valley of Wrington. His name was not unknown in the annals of religious houses. About the time of Richard Whiting's birth, another Richard, probably an uncle, was *camerarius* or chamberlain in the monastery of Bath,† an office which in after-years the second Richard held in the abbey of Glastonbury. Many years later, at the beginning of the troubles of the religious houses in Henry's reign, another Whiting, Jane, daughter of John, a near relative of the abbot, "was shorn and had taken the habit as a nun in the monastery of Wilton;"‡ whilst later still, when new foundations of religious life had been laid in foreign countries, three of Abbot Whiting's nieces became postulates in the English Franciscan house of Bruges.§

We know nothing for certain about the childhood and youth of Richard Whiting, and can only conjecture that he, like the sons of most of his neighbours, received his early education and training within the walls of his future monastery. The learned antiquary Hearne says that "the monks of Glastonbury kept a free school, where poor men's sons were bred up as well as gentlemen's, and were fitted for the universities."|| It was probably in early youth, as was then the custom, that Richard joined the community of the great Benedictine monastery of the west country, passing from the school into the novitiate. Report did not at this time speak too well of the discipline maintained within its walls. John Selwood the abbot had held the office from the year 1457, and under his rule, owing doubtless to the demoralizing influence of constant civil dissensions, the good name of the abbey had suffered. Still, we may conclude that rumour, with its many tongues, had in its usual way magnified the disorders, since after a careful examination,¶ ordered by Bishop Stillington, and carried out by four ecclesiastical dignitaries unconnected with the diocese, we find no record of stringent injunctions imposed, and Selwood continued to rule his abbey for twenty years afterwards.

\* B. Mus. Add. MS. 28, 838.

† Reg. Beck. Bath et Wellen, f. 311.

‡ R.O. Chan. Inq. P.M.

§ Oliver's Collect. p. 135.

|| Hist. of Glastonbury : Preface.

¶ Reg. Still., Bath et Well, f. 82.

From Glastonbury Whiting was sent to Cambridge,\* to complete his education, and his name appears amongst those who took their M.A. degree in 1483.† About the same time the register of the university records the well-known names of Richard Reynolds, the Brigettine monk of Sion, of John Houghton and William Exmew, both Carthusians, and all afterwards noble martyrs in the cause of Catholic truth, for which Whiting was also to be called upon to sacrifice his life. The Blessed John Fisher also, although no longer a student, still remained in close connection with the university, when Richard Whiting came from Glastonbury to Cambridge to complete his education.

After his degree had been taken the young Benedictine monk doubtless returned to his monastery, and there in his turn would be occupied in teaching the boys entrusted to the care of the Glastonbury religious. For this work his previous training, his stay at the university in preparation for his degree in Arts, would have specially qualified him, and in all probability he was thus engaged till his ordination, some fifteen years later. During this period one or two matters of importance to the monks of the abbey may be briefly noted.

In 1493, John Selwood, who had been abbot for thirty-six years, died. The monks having obtained the king's leave to proceed with the election of a successor,‡ met for the purpose, and made their choice, without apparently having obtained the usual approval of the bishop of the diocese. This neglect was brought about possibly by their ignorance of the forms of procedure, as so long a time had intervened since the previous election. It may be also that the long-continued absence of the Bishop of Bath and Wells from his See caused them to forget his rights. At this time Bishop Fox held the post, and on hearing of the election of John Wasyn without his approval, he applied to the king for permission to cancel the election. This having been granted, he successfully claimed the right to nominate to the office, and on January 20, 1494, by his commissary, Dr. Richard Nicke, Canon of Wells, and afterwards Bishop of Norwich, he installed Richard Bere in the abbatial chair of Glastonbury.§

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\* Probably to "Monk's College." Speed, speaking of Magdalen College, Cambridge, says it "was first an hall inhabited by monks of divers monasteries, and therefore heretofore called Monks' College, sent hither from their abbeys to the universitie to studye. Edward Stafford, last Duke of Buckingham, &c., bestowed much cost in the repair of it, and in 1519 . . . new built the hall, whereupon for a time it was called Buckingham College; but the Duke being shortly after attainted, the buildings were left imperfect, continuing a place for monks to study in, until the general suppression of monasteries by King Henry VIII."—SPEED'S *History of Great Britain*, 1632, p. 1050.

† Cooper, Ath. Cantab. p. 71. ‡ Pat. Rot. 8 Henry VII. p. 2, m. 11.  
§ Reg. Fox. Bath et Wellen, p. 48. Pat. Rot., 9 Henry VII. 26.

In the third year of this abbot's rule, Somerset and the neighbourhood of Glastonbury was disturbed by the passage of armed men—insurgents against King Henry VII.'s rule and the royal troops sent against them—which must have sadly broken in upon the repose of the monastic life. In the early summer of 1497 the Cornish rebels who had risen in resistance to the heavy taxation of Henry, passed through Glastonbury and Wells on their way to London. Their number was estimated at from six to fifteen thousand, and the country for miles around was at night lighted up by their camp fires. Their poverty and need was most urgent, and although it is recorded that no act of violence or pillage was perpetrated by this undisciplined band, still their support was a burden on the hospitality of the religious houses and the people of the districts through which they passed.

Hardly had this rising been suppressed than Somerset was again involved in trouble. Early in the autumn of 1497 Perkin Warbeck assembled his rabble forces—"howbeit, they were poor and naked" \*—round the city of Taunton, and on the 21st September the advanced guard of the king's army arrived at Glastonbury, and was sheltered in the monastery and its dependencies. The same night the adventurer fled to sanctuary, leaving his 8,000 followers to their own devices; and on the 29th of this same month Henry himself reached Bath and moved forward at once to join his other forces at Wells and Glastonbury. With him came Bishop Oliver King, who, although he had held the See of Bath and Wells for three years had never yet visited his cathedral city, and who now hurried on before his royal master to be enthroned as bishop a few hours before he in that capacity took part in the reception of the king. Henry had with him some 30,000 men, when on St. Jerome's day he entered Wells, and took up his lodgings with Dr. Cunthorpe in the deanery.† The following day, Sunday, October 1, was spent at Wells, where the king attended in the Cathedral at a solemn "Te Deum" in thanksgiving for his bloodless victory. Early on the Monday he passed on to Glastonbury, and was lodged by Abbot Bere within the precincts of the monastery.

The abbey was then at the height of its glory, for Bere was in every way fitted for the position to which the choice of Fox had elevated him. For great things and small he had a watchful care, and under his prudent administration the monastic buildings and church received many useful and costly additions. At great expense he built the suite of rooms afterwards known as "the King's lodgings," and added more than one chapel to the time-honoured sanctuary of Glastonbury. His care for the poor was

\* B. Mus. Cott. MS. Vit. A. 16, f. 1667.

† "Hist. MSS. Report," i. p. 107.

manifested by the almshouses he established, and the thought he bestowed on the prudent ordering of the lowly spital of St. Margaret's, Taunton. Beyond this, Bere was a learned man, as well as a careful administrator, and even Erasmus submitted to his judgment. In a letter written a few years later this great scholar records how he had long known the reputation of the Abbot of Glastonbury. His bosom friend, Richard Pace, the well-known ambassador of Wolsey in many difficult negotiations, had told him how to Bere's liberality he owed his education, and his success in life to his judicious guidance. For this reason, Erasmus, who had made a translation of the sacred Scriptures from the Greek, which he thought possessed a "more polished style" than St. Jerome's version, submitted his work to the judgment of the Abbot. Bere opposed the publication, and Erasmus bowed to the Abbot's opinion, which in after-years he acknowledged as correct.\* Henry, who ever delighted in the company of learned men, must have been pleased with the entertainment he received at Glastonbury, where the whole cost was borne by the Abbot.† It is possibly, by reason of the knowledge the king then derived of the great abilities of Bere, that six years afterwards, in 1503, he made choice of him to carry the congratulations of England to Cardinal John Angelo de Medicis, when he ascended the pontifical throne as Pius IV.

The troubles of Somerset did not end with the retirement of the royal troops. Though the country did not rise in support of the Cornish movement, it appears to have somewhat sympathized with it, and at Wells Lord Audley joined the insurgents as their leader. For this sympathy Henry made them pay; and the rebel's line of march can be traced by the record of the heavy fines levied upon those who had been supposed to have "aided and comforted" them. Sir Amyas Paulet—the first Paulet of Hinton St. George—was one of the commissioners sent to extort this pecuniary punishment, and from his record it would appear that nearly all Somerset was fined. The abbots of Forde and Cleeve, of Muchelney and Athelney, with others, had extended their charity to the starving insurgents, and Sir Amyas made them pay somewhat smartly for their pity. Somehow Glastonbury appears to have escaped the general penalty; probably the abbot's entertainment of the king saved the abbey, although some of the townsfolk did not escape the fine.‡ This severe

\* Ep. lib. xviii. Ep. 46; Warner's Glaston. p. 213.

† The Wardrobe accounts show that whilst the king had to pay something heavily for his stay at Wells, his entertainment at Glastonbury cost nothing.

‡ R.O. Chapter House, Misc. Box. 152, No. 24. See also Somerset Archael. Soc. 1879.

treatment must have had more than a passing effect. Its memory would have been still fresh in the minds of the people of Somerset, and have acted as a warning, when forty years afterwards Henry VIII. attacked the liberties of the Church, and in destroying the monasteries robbed the poor of their patrimony.

Meantime Richard Whiting had witnessed these troubles, which came so near home, from the seclusion of the monastic enclosure in which he had been preparing for the reception of sacred orders. The bishop, Dr. Oliver King, had not remained in his diocese after the public reception of the king. He was engaged in the secular affairs of the kingdom, and his episcopal functions were relegated to the care of a suffragan, Dr. Thomas Cornish, titular bishop of Tinos,\* and at this time Vicar of St. Cuthbert's, Wells, and chancellor of the diocese. From the hands of this prelate Dom Richard Whiting received the minor order of acolyte in the month of September 1498. In the two succeeding years he was made sub-deacon and deacon, and on the 6th March, 1501, he was elevated to the sacred order of the Priesthood.† The ordination was held in Wells by the same Dr. Cornish in the Chapel of the Blessed Virgin, by the cathedral cloisters—a chapel long since destroyed. It was a large ordination, comprising a Benedictine from the monastery of Bath, a Carthusian from Witham, and five seculars as priests, together with thirteen deacons, seven sub-deacons, and ten acolytes.

For the next five and twenty years we know very little about Richard Whiting. It is more than probable that his life was passed entirely in the seclusion of the cloister and in the exercise of the duties imposed upon him by obedience. In 1505 the register of the University of Cambridge shows that he returned there, and took his final degree as Doctor in Theology. In his monastery he held the office of "Camerarius," or Chamberlain, which would give him the care of the dormitory, lavatory, and wardrobe of the community, and place him over the numerous officials and servants necessary to this office in so important and vast an establishment as Glastonbury then was.

In the month of February, 1525, Abbot Bere died, after worthily presiding over the monastery for more than thirty years. A few days later, on February 11, the religious in holy orders, at that time forty-seven in number, met in the chapter-

\* Stubbs' Regist. Ang. Thos. Cornish "Tinensis," Suff. of Wells 1486-1513; Master of St. John's Host. Wells 1483; Provost of Oriel Coll. Oxon. 1493; Vicar of St. Cuthbert's, Wells, 1497; Chancellor of Wells, 1499; Precentor, 1502; Vicar Chewe Mag., 1505; do. Oxbridge, 1489; do. Wokly, &c. &c. He was also Suffragan of Exeter 1487-1505.

† Reg. O. King, Bath, &c.

house to elect a successor. They were presided over by their Prior, Dom Henry Coliner, and on his proposition it was agreed that five days were to be left for consideration and discussion, and that the final vote would be taken on the 16th. On that day, after a solemn Mass *de Spiritu Sancto* had been celebrated at the high altar of the conventional church at an early hour, the "great bell" of the monastery called the monks together once more into Chapter. The proceedings were begun by the singing of the "Veni Creator," with its versicle and prayer, and then Dom Robert Clerk, the sacrist, read aloud the form of citation to those having a right to vote, followed by a roll-call of the names of the monks of the monastery, both of these having remained fixed to the doors of the chapter-house since the last meeting. The reading of the document and list having been concluded, the book of the Holy Gospels was carried in turn to each of the monks, who laying his hand upon it and kissing it, swore to make choice of him whom in conscience he thought most worthy. Then forthwith the Prior, in his own name and in that of the community, read a protest against any taking part in the coming election who through suspension or otherwise were debarred by law from so doing. And after this, one Mr. William Benet, acting as the canonical adviser of the community, read aloud the constitution of the General Council, "Quia propter," and carefully explained the various methods of election to the brethren. After which the religious with one mind determined to proceed by the method of compromise (*per formam compromissi*), which placed the choice in the hands of some individual of note, and unanimously appointed Cardinal Wolsey to make choice of their Abbot.

The following day the Prior wrote to the Cardinal of York, begging him to accept the charge. He, after having obtained the royal permission,\* and allowed a fortnight to go by for inquiry and consideration, on March 3,<sup>†</sup> in the chapel of his palace at York Place, declared Richard Whiting the object of his choice. The Cardinal's commission to instal the elect was handed to the deputation from the abbey, Dom John Glastonbury the cellararer and Dom John Benet the sub-prior, and it spoke in the highest terms of Whiting. He was described as "an upright and religious monk, besides a provident and discrete man; a priest commendable for his life, virtues, and learning. .... He has shown himself" watchful and circumspect "in both spirituals and temporals, and he has knowledge and determination to uphold the rights of his monastery." <sup>‡</sup> This instrument, drawn up by a notary and signed by the Cardinal and three

\* Pat. Rot.      † Hearne's "Adam de Domerham," No. 7, Ap. xcvi.

‡ Adam de Domerham, *ut sup.*

witnesses, one of whom was "Thomas More, subthesaurarius Anglie," was handed to the two Glastonbury monks, who returned at once to their abbey.

They arrived there on the 8th of March, and met the brethren in the chapter-room, where they declared the result of the Cardinal's deliberations. Then at once, Dom John of Taunton, the precentor, intoned the "Te Deum," and they wended their way, chaunting the hymn, from the chapter to the church, carrying the newly elect. Meantime the news had spread throughout the town. The people crowded into the church to hear the proclamation, and as the procession of monks leading Richard Whiting came from the cloisters we can well picture the scene. The nave of the longest church in England, Old St. Paul's alone excepted, was occupied by "a vast multitude" eager to do honour to so important a person as the new Lord Abbot of Glastonbury. The glorious sanctuary of Avalon, enriched during ten centuries by the generous gifts of pious benefactors, had received new and costly adornments at the hands of the abbot so lately gone to his reward. The vaulting of the nave, which then rang with the voices of the monks as they sang the hymn of praise, was one of his latest works. The new-made openings in the wall marked the places where stood King Edgar's Chapel, and those of Our Lady of Loretto, and the Sepulchre, more fitting monuments than the plain marble slab that marked his grave, to his love and veneration for the ancient sanctuary of Glaston. And as the monks grouped themselves within the choir, the eye, looking through the screen which ran athwart the great chancel arch—Pugin's *porta caeli*—would have seen the glitter of the antependium of solid silver gilt studded with jewels, with which the same generous hand had adorned the great high altar. Few sanctuaries in England were more interesting or commanded greater veneration than did Glastonbury, and this although no country could then vie with England in the shrines of saints. Almost every stone of the vast pile had its history or its legend, and the very name carried the mind back to the early planting of the faith in Britain. To Englishmen of that day no spot out of Rome was sanctified by such memories. It was to them "Roma Secunda." It alone of all the British churches had survived the storm of English conquest, and beyond the shrines of saints, Glastonbury had its undoubted tombs of great men, and even of kings. King Arthur himself and Guinevere were thought to rest beneath the tomb in front of the great altar, where their remains had been deposited when discovered in the reign of Richard I. To the right of this reposed the bones of Edmund the Elder, surnamed the "Magnificent," and to the left those of his descendant, Edmund "Iron-sides;" while the body of Edgar the "Peaceful," sainted if never

canonized, rested in the chapel newly finished by Abbot Bere. Then the Chapel of St. Joseph of Arimathea, with its halo of legend, attracted large numbers of pilgrims, and the head of St. Dunstan, the relics of St. Patrick and St. Gildas, with others, each in their own separate chapels, combined to make Glastonbury an object of veneration and renown.

Into this noble sanctuary the good people of the town crowded on that March morning in the year 1425 to hear what selection the great Cardinal had made for their future lord and father. And as the voices of the monks died away with the last "Amen" to the prayer of thanksgiving to God for mercies to their House, Mr. Richard Watkins, the notary public, at the request of the Prior and his brethren, turned to the people, and from off the steps of the great altar proclaimed in English the due election of Brother Richard Whiting. Then as the people streamed forth from the church bearing the welcome news, the monks returned to Chapter for the completion of the required formalities. And first, the free consent of the elect himself had to be obtained, and he remained unwilling to take the burden of so high an office. He had betaken himself to the guest-house, called "the hostry," and thither Dom William Walter and Dom John Winchcombe repaired, as deputed by the rest, to bring him to consent. At first he remained determined to refuse, and at last demanded some little time for thought and prayer; but a few hours after, "being," as he declared, "unwilling any longer to offer resistance to what appeared the will of God," he yielded to their solicitations, and accepted the dignity and burden.

Then on his acceptance being notified to the Cardinal, he sent two commissioners to conduct the canonical investigations as to the fitness of the elect for the office. On March 25 these officials arrived at the monastery, and early on the morning following, the Prior and monks came in procession to the Conventual Church, that they might summon any to appear and state any reasons they might have knowledge of which ought to debar Whiting from being confirmed as Abbot. After this the like obligation was laid in Chapter on the monks, and once more, at noon, the decree was published to a "great multitude" in the church, and afterwards in public fixed against the great doors of the Abbey Church.

At three in the afternoon of March 28, as no one had appeared to object against the election, the procurator of the Abbot Dom John, of Glastonbury, produced his witnesses as to age and character. Amongst them was Sir Amyas Paulet, of Hinton St. George, who declared that he had known the elect for eight-and-twenty years, which was just the time when Henry VII. had visited Glastonbury, and Sir Amyas had been occupied in ex-

tracting from the people of Somerset the fines levied for their supposed sympathy with Perkin Warbeck and the Cornish rebels. All the Abbot's witnesses testify that he had always borne the highest character, not alone in Somerset, but elsewhere beyond the limits of the diocese, and that none had ever heard anything but good of him. One of those that so testified was Dom Richard Beneall, a native of Bristol, and for nineteen years an inmate of the monastery of Glastonbury, who said that Dom Richard Whiting had all those years been reputed a monk of exemplary piety.

When this lengthy and strict scrutiny was finished the Commissioners on the Cardinal's part declared the confirmation of the elect. Then after the usual oath of obedience to the bishop of the diocese, Bishop John Clarke, had been taken by the Abbot, he received the solemn blessing in his own great Abbey Church from Dr. William Gilbert, Abbot of Bruton and Bishop of Mayo in Ireland, at that time acting as suffragan to the Bishop of Bath and Wells.\* A few days afterwards the formalities of the installation were completed by the restitution of the Abbot's temporalities.<sup>†</sup>

To Whiting himself the sudden change from a subordinate and minor office to that of head in so important a monastery must have been as startling as unwelcome. He had clearly not been one to seek for power or expect preferment, and now it had pleased Providence to place upon him the burden of a large religious house, with its thousand interests and requirements, to create him a peer of Parliament, and make him master of great estates. Four parks, teeming with game, domains and manors of great extent and number, bringing to the monastery an income of about £3000 a year in money, gave him a position and influence of the highest importance in Somerset, and even in England. "The house is great, goodly, and so princely as we have not seen the like,"<sup>‡</sup> writes those whom, some years later, Thomas Crumwell sent to seize the land for Henry.

The antiquary Hearne has described for us the Abbot's dwelling-house as it existed on his visit to the town in 1712, and as such a description helps us to fill in the picture of Abbot Whiting's surroundings, and so more vividly to realize his life at Glastonbury, we cannot refrain from quoting a portion of it:

It stood [he says] south of the great hall, and the main of the

\* The whole of the facts here recorded about Abbot Whiting's election are to be found in a document at the end of the Register of Bishop Clarke, Bath and Wells diocese. We have given a detailed account of the election, &c., to show the extreme caution then used in these matters.

† Pat. Rot. 16, Hen. VIII., p. 1, m. 38.

‡ State Papers, i. p. 620.

building ran north and south. The front of it was towards the west, and was built almost in the form of a great Roman E.

It was only three stories high, and, as near as I can remember, had ten large stone windows on each floor in the front. To come into this apartment you mounted half a dozen or more large handsome stone steps, which led you into several stately rooms, which for the most part were all wainscotted with oak, the ceilings as well as the sides of the rooms. In divers panels of the wainscot (particularly in the ceilings and over the chimneys) there were neatly carved the arms of England. . . . Up one pair of stairs at the south end of the building stood, as I was told, the abbot's bed-chamber. It was, as near as I can guess, about 18 feet in length and about 14 feet in breadth. It had in it an old bedstead without tester or post, was boarded at bottom, and had a board nailed shelving at the head. This bedstead, according to the tradition of the place, was the same that Abbot Whiting laid on, and I was desired to observe it as a curiosity. The apartment was much out of repair when I saw it. It rained in in many places, by the roofs being faulty in many places. Several panels of the wainscot were shattered. The windows were much broken, and some of them unglazed.\*

But, great though his position undoubtedly was, Abbot Whiting's lot had been cast in times of trouble for those who would do their duty to God. Even with his election came the first indication of the gathering storm. Within two months from the day when he was installed as Abbot the creation of Sir Thomas Boleyn as Viscount Rochfort† marked the first step in the King's illicit affection for the new peer's daughter Anne. Four years of wavering counsels as to Henry's desired divorce from Catherine led in 1529 to the humiliation and fall of the hitherto all-powerful Cardinal of York.

Circumstances combined to collect in the social atmosphere at this time dangerous elements fraught with destructive power against the Church in England. The long and deadly feud between the two "Roses" had swept away the pride and flower of the old noble families. The stability which the traditions and prudent counsels of the ancient nobility gave to the ship of State was gone when it was most needed to weather the rising storm of revolutionary ideas. The new peers who were created in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries to take the places of the old had no sympathy, either by birth or inclination, with the traditions of the past. Many of them were mere place-hunters and political adventurers eager to profit by every disturbance of

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\* Hearne's "Glastonbury," p. 72. The house was shortly afterwards destroyed. Hearne was told that no one would occupy it, since misfortune always attended those who had attempted to live there.

† June 18, 1525.

the social order. Their own interests caused them to range themselves in the restless ranks of the party of innovation. Those who have nothing to lose are almost proverbially on the side of disorder and change. The "official" also, the creation of the Tudor monarchs, was by nature restless and discontented. Working for the most inadequate salaries, such men were ever on the look-out for some lucky chance of supplementing their pay. Success in life depended on their attracting to themselves the notice of their royal master, and they competed one with the other in fulfilling his wishes, satisfying his whims, and pandering to his desires.\*

At the head of all was, in Henry VIII., a king of unbounded desires, and one whose only code of right and wrong sprang, at least in the second half of his reign, from considerations of power to accomplish what he wished. What he could do was the measure of what he might lawfully attempt. Sir Thomas More, after he had himself retired from office, in his warning to the rising Crumwell, rightly gauged the character of the King. "Mark Crumwell," he said, "you are now entered the service of a most noble, wise, and liberal prince; if you will follow my poor advice, you shall in your counsel given to his Grace, ever tell him what he *ought* to do, but not what he is *able* to do. For if a lion knew his own strength, hard were it for any man to rule him." †

Nor, unfortunately, were the clergy of the time fitted to cope with the forces of revolution, or resist the rising tide of novelties. In the days when might was right, and the force of arms the ruling power of the world, the occupation of peace, to which the clergy were bound, called forth the sneers and excited hostile and violent opposition from the party now rising to power. The bishops were, with few honourable exceptions, mere Court officials pensioned out of ecclesiastical revenues. Chosen to their high offices by royal favour rather than because of their special aptitude to look after the spiritual welfare of their dioceses, they appear, perhaps not unnaturally, to have had little heart in their work. As the holding of a See was too frequently regarded as a temporary position, and as an earnest of appointment to another bishopric pecuniarily or socially more advantageous, a bishop's energies were directed to obtain this preferment rather than to the management of his present district. This place-seeking often kept the lords spiritual at Court, that they might gain or maintain sufficient influence to support their claims to

\* *Vide* P. Friedmann's "Anne Boleyn," vol. i. p. 27, &c., where this is clearly and admirably well stated.

† Quoted in Foss's "Judges of England," ed. 1857, vol. v. p. 149.

further promotion. It was the King they looked to, not the Church. Too often, also, the bishop of an important See would be occupied in the management of the secular affairs of State, and perhaps paid for these services by the emoluments of his ecclesiastical office. To the King all looked for hope of reward, and to royalty they clung as long as there was prospect of success. The Church had no favours to give except by the King's hands, and "even cardinals' hats were bestowed only on royal recommendation."\* Only when declining years made the struggle for position less possible, or when failure to please made absence from Court advisable, did the Bishop in many instances come to spend his remaining years and devote his expiring energies to his flock. The worship of wealth and influence, the struggle after power and position in which too many Churchmen joined, and the employment of energy, which should have been devoted to purposes ecclesiastical, upon the secular business of State, were at the commencement of the sixteenth century constantly at work sapping the very life of the Church in England.

The practice followed in more than one instance of rewarding foreigners by nominating them to vacant Sees in return for services rendered, was also most obviously detrimental to the well-being of the Church. At one time, about this period, the three bishoprics of Salisbury, Worcester, and Llandaff, were all held in this way by those whose only interest in the dioceses appears to have been the fees they obtained from them.

As we have noted incidentally in the case of Bath and Wells, so elsewhere very generally the functions of the episcopate were relegated to suffragans, who not unfrequently did duty for more than one diocese. Upon these auxiliaries, rectories or other ecclesiastical preferments were bestowed in lieu of payment. The bishops themselves took all the fees earned by their auxiliaries, who in their turn left their rectories in the hands of curates. Neglect of duty more or less extended to the entire body of the clergy. The result was lamentable. Dr. Edward Lee, the successor of Wolsey in the archiepiscopal See of York, reports in 1534 that in the whole of his diocese he could find only twelve of the parochial clergy able and willing to preach to their people.<sup>†</sup>

For many successive years the diocese of Bath and Wells knew its bishops more by report and through the fees paid than from personal contact. From the death of Bishop Beckington in 1464 the work of the See had been almost invariably carried on by commissioners "in spiritualibus" and suffragans. Bishop Still-

\* P. Friedmann, i. p. 137.

† R.O.: Box <sup>R</sup> 60. Strype, Ecc. Mem. i. p. 291.

ington, who had opposed Henry VII. as Earl of Richmond, and had tried to entrap him at St. Malo's, had, after the battle of Bosworth, been consigned to six years' "gentle imprisonment" at Windsor, and the affairs of the diocese had been more than ever neglected. From not being occupied and neglect, the very episcopal palace at Wells had long been unfurnished, and had fallen into utter ruin and decay. What can be said in defence even of so good a man as Richard Fox? An excellent example in those days, still his episcopal duties sat so lightly upon his conscience, that though he was consecrated as Bishop of Exeter in 1487, removed to Bath and Wells in 1491, and translated to Durham in December 1494, he yet never saw his cathedral at Exeter, nor set foot in his diocese of Bath and Wells.

And beyond the disastrous effect on the clergy of this occupation of bishops in the affairs of State, it had another result. It created a jealous opposition to ecclesiastics in the minds of the new nobility. The lay lords and hungry officials not unnaturally looked upon this employment of ecclesiastics, and their occupation in all the intrigues of party politics, and in the wiles and crafty business of foreign and domestic diplomacy, as conduced to keep them out of coveted preferment. They did not consequently need much inducement when occasion offered to turn against the clergy, and enable Henry to carry out his coercive legislation against the Church.

The state of ecclesiastical disorganization thus briefly sketched was without doubt reflected in the great monastic and religious bodies throughout England. The civil dissensions of the previous century must have told against their discipline, and engendered a spirit of unrest wholly alien to the cloistered life. They had never indeed recovered from the effects of the deadly sickness and plagues which had ravaged the country a hundred and fifty years before, decimating the inmates of the monasteries, and rendering those who survived physically incapable of carrying out their former practices and austerities. Hence, although every document that comes to light tends to show the falsity of the calumnies heaped upon the religious houses by the emissaries of Henry VIII., it is certain that they had fallen from the fervour of earlier days, and that here and there some individual case of serious delinquency might be found. But it is not less certain that the monks as a body were sound, that the system of visitation was kept up in full vigour, and detection and punishment followed fault; and that the communities had not in any way forfeited the affection and esteem of the people who were around them and who knew them best.

Five years after Abbot Whiting had entered on his office the fall of Cardinal Wolsey opened the way for the advancement of

Thomas Crumwell, the instrument or the contriver of the change of religion in England, on the fall of which he built up his own fortunes. For ten years England groaned beneath his sway—in truth a reign of terror unparalleled in the long history of our country. To power he mounted and power he maintained by offering himself as subservient to every whim of a monarch, the strength of whose passions was only equalled by the remorselessness and tenacity with which he pursued his ends.

His old master Wolsey had told Sir William Kingston, almost with his dying breath, that Henry for a whim would imperil one half of his kingdom. "I do assure you," he said, "I have often kneeled before him, sometimes three hours together, to persuade him from his will and appetite, but could not prevail." Crumwell fully understood before entering on his new service what were its conditions, and neither will nor ability were lacking in their fulfilment. Under his management, at once skilful and rough, he mastered the action of Parliament and paralyzed that of the Convocation of the Clergy, moulding them both to the will of the king. Though the clergy struggled for a time against his determination to be supreme head of the Church of England, and to break with Rome, they finally gave way, and on November 3, 1534, the "Act of Supremacy" was hurried through Parliament. A second Act made it treason to deny this new prerogative.

It is difficult for us to understand how it was possible for the king to secure the passing of these Acts. But in considering them it is necessary to bear in mind the nature of the assembly by which they were voted. In the time of Henry VIII. the House of Commons was not really an elective body at all. The members were representatives of the king's will, and were in fact nominated by him. For this special assembly every attempt was made to secure members pliant to the king's designs.\* Mr. Friedmann's researches into the State papers of this period have enabled him to assert that the system of packing the Parliament was carried out very completely at the time of this attack on the supremacy of the Pope. "The House of Lords," writes Chapuys, "has been carefully packed, many of the members having received no writs, others having been excused from attending."<sup>†</sup>

It is impossible within the narrow limits of an article even to attempt to sketch the chain of events which led to the destruction of Glastonbury and Abbot Whiting's martyrdom. The time has passed when that great act in the drama of the Protestant Revolution called the Dissolution of the Monasteries can be ascribed

\* Cf. Cobbett's "Parliamentary History," i. p. 507; P. Friedmann's "Anne Boleyn," i. p. 100, &c.

<sup>†</sup> Chapuys to Charles V., March 31, 1533, quoted by Mr. Friedmann.

to righteous indignation at the enormities of monks, or even neglect on their part to the ordinary duties of their state in either religious or civil aspect. Though relinquished by some, even instructed persons, with regret, the legend is no longer tenable. The latest and most careful ecclesiastical historian of England has described the suppression simply as an "enormous scheme for filling the royal purse,"\* and this is the sum and truth of the matter. As his guilty passion for Anne Boleyn is the key to one half of the acts of the succeeding years of Henry's reign, so is the need of money to gratify his other appetites the key to the other. In this, so far as the king himself is concerned, lies the secret of the fall of Wolsey. And as years went on, rapacity, insatiable and incredibly mean, kept pace with his prodigal extravagance. From the seizure of the first of the lesser religious houses to the fall of Glastonbury, the greatest, the most magnificent, the richest of them all, the money, the plate, the jewels, the gain was the one thought of the king's heart in this business. To this end every engine was devised, conscience was trodden under foot, and blood was spilt. With the evident pretext of falling on the religious houses by making the oath of supremacy intolerable to their inmates, says Mr. Dixon,† there was presented to them

"a far more severe and explicit form of oath than that which More and Fisher had refused, than that which the Houses of Parliament and the secular clergy had consented to take. They were required to swear not only that the chaste and holy marriage between Henry and Anne was just and legitimate, and the succession good in their offspring," but "also that they would ever hold the king to be head of the Church of England, that the Bishop of Rome, who in his bulls usurped the name of Pope and arrogated to himself the primacy of the most High Pontiff, had no more authority and jurisdiction than other bishops of England or elsewhere in their dioceses, and that they would for ever renounce the laws, decrees, canons of the Bishop of Rome, if any of them should be found contrary to the law of God and Holy Scripture."‡

The scheme failed, "for the oath was taken in almost every chapter-house where it was tendered,"§ among the rest, on September 19, 1534, by the Abbot and monks of Glastonbury.

It is easy, at this lapse of time and in the light of fatal subsequent events, to be loud in our reprobation; to wonder how

\* Dixon, i. 456. The Ven. John Beche, Abbot of Colchester, is reported to Crumwell as saying: "The king and his council were drawn into such an inordinate covetousness that if all the water in Thames were flowing gold and silver, it were not able to slake their covetousness." (1539, R.O. State Pap. 207.)

† Vol. i. p. 213.

‡ P. 211.

§ P. 213.

throughout England the blessed John Fisher and Thomas More, and the observants, almost alone, should have been found from the beginning neither to hesitate nor waver. It is easy to make light of the shrinking of flesh and blood, easy to extol the palm of martyrdom. But it is not difficult too to see how to Abbot Whiting, no less than to blessed John Houghton and his other holy companions of the Charter House, reasons suggested themselves for temporizing. To most men at that date the possibility of a final separation from Rome must have seemed incredible. They remembered Henry in his earlier days, when he was never so immersed in business or in pleasure that he did not hear three or even five masses a day ; they did not know him as Wolsey or Cromwell, or as More or Fisher knew him ; the project must have seemed a momentary aberration, under the influence of evil passion or evil counsellors. He had at bottom a zeal for the faith and would return bye-and-bye to a better mind, a truer self, and would then come to terms with the Pope. Meantime the oath was susceptible of lenient interpretation. The idea of the headship was not absolutely new : it had in a measure been conceded some years before, without, so far as appears, exciting remonstrance from Rome. Beyond this, to many the oath of royal supremacy of the Church of England was never understood as derogatory to the See of Rome. It requires, moreover, no very deep reading of the letters and papers of this period to see that the necessity of the Papal Supremacy was but little understood. Even blessed Thomas More declared that, till the question had been proposed, and in a course of study extending over seven years he had examined into it, he had never realized that the primacy of the Apostolic See was a point of vital importance to the Catholic faith. Beyond this, to many the oath of royal supremacy of the Church of England was never understood as derogatory to the See of Rome. Even those who had taken this oath were in many instances surprised that it should be construed into any such hostility.\*

However strained this temper of mind may appear to us at this time, it undoubtedly existed. One example may be here cited. Among the State Papers in the Record Office for the year 1539 is a long harangue as to the execution of three Benedictine abbots in which the writer refers to such a view :

“I cannot think the contrary [he writes], but the old Bishop of London [Stokesley], when he was on live, used the pretty medicine that his

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\* Letters and Papers, viii. Nos. 277, 387, &c., &c., are instances of the temper of mind described above. No. 387 especially is very significant as showing the *gloss* men put on their supremacy oath, distinguishing tacitly between Church of England and Catholic Church, and “in temporalibus,” and “in spiritualibus.”

fellow, Friar Forrest, was wont to use, and to work with an inward man and an outward man; that is to say, to speak one thing with their mouth and then another thing with their heart. Surely a very pretty medicine for popish hearts. But it worked madly for some of their parts. Gentle Hugh Cook \* by his own confession used not the self-same medicine that Friar Forrest used, but another much like unto it, which was this: what time as the spirituality were sworn to take the king's grace for the supreme head, immediately next under God of this Church of England, Hugh Cook receiving the same oath added prettily in his own conscience these words following: "of the temporal church," saith he, "but not of the spiritual church."

Nor from another point of view is this want of appreciation as to the true foundation of the papal primacy a subject for unmixed astonishment. During the last half-century the Popes had reigned in a Court of unexampled splendour, but a splendour essentially mundane. It was a dazzling sight, but all this outward show made it difficult to recognize the divinely ordered spiritual prerogatives which are the enduring heritage of the successors of St. Peter. The dignified titles expressing those prerogatives had passed unquestioned in the schools and in common speech in the world, but from this there is a wide step to the apprehension of the living truths they express, and a further step to that intense personal realization which makes those truths dearer to a man than life.

To some that realization came sooner, to some later: some men there are who see clearly the point at issue and its full import. They are ready with their answer at once without seeking or faltering. Others answer to the call at the third, maybe the eleventh hour; the cause is the same, and so is the reward, though to the late comer the respite may perhaps have been only a prolongation of the agony.

Within a year from the general oath-taking throughout England, and its failure to bring about the hoped-for result, Crumwell, ever fertile in expedients, had organized a general visitation of the monasteries. The instruments he made choice of to conduct this scrutiny, and the methods they employed, leave no doubt that the real object was the destruction of the monasteries under the cloak of reformation. The injunctions are minute and exacting; in detail many were excellent; as a whole, even in the hands of persons sincerely desirous of improving discipline and observance, they must have proved unworkable. In the hands of Crumwell's agents they were, as they were designed to be, intolerable. It was rightly calculated that under the guise of restoring discipline they would effectually strike at

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\* The Venerable Hugh Cook of Reading.

the authority of religious superiors by the encouragement given to a system of tale-bearing by all and sundry, but especially of seniors by the young ; by other provisions the monasteries were with much show of zeal for religion turned practically into prisons, and generally to reduce them in very deed, if it were possible, to such abodes of misery and unhappiness as the uninformed Protestant imagination pictures them to be.\* The moral of this treatment is summed up by John ap-Rice and Thomas Legh, two of the agents, in a letter to Crumwell :

By this ye may see [they write] that they [the religious] shall not need to be put forth, but that they will make instant suit themselves, so that their doing shall be imputed to themselves and no other. Although I reckon it well done that all were out, yet I think it were best that at their own suits they might be dismissed to avoid calum-niation and envy,† and so compelling them to observe these injunctions ye shall have them all to do shortly.‡

Armed with a commission to visit and enforce the injunctions, Dr. Richard Layton, as his own letters testify the most foul-mouthed and foul-minded ribald of them all, came to Glastonbury on Saturday, August 21, 1535. From St. Augustine's, Bristol, whither he turned his steps on the following Monday, he wrote to Crumwell a letter showing that even he, chief among a crew who "could ask unmoved such questions as no other human beings could have imagined or known how to put, who could extract guilt from a stammer, a tremble, or a blush, or even from indignant silence as surely as from open confession" §—even Layton retired baffled from Glastonbury under the venerable Abbot Whiting's rule : "At Bruton and Glastonbury," he explains, "there is nothing notable, the brethren be so straight kept that they cannot offend ; but fain they would if they might, as they confess, and so the fault is not with them."|| After this who shall say that even Layton could not on occasion throw the mantle of charity over the shortcomings of his neighbour ?

The same visitor, Dr. Layton, at this period, it would seem, spoke in praise of Abbot Whiting to the King. For this error of judgment, when some time later Crumwell had assured himself of the Abbot's temper, he has to sue for pardon from both King and Minister. "I must therefore now," he writes, "in this my necessity most humbly beseech your Lordship to pardon me for that my folly then committed, as ye have done many times before,

\* Cf. Dixon, i. 377-80.

† He means *invidia*—public odium.

‡ R.O. : Crumwell Corr. xxii. No. 18. Written Oct. 1534.

§ Dixon, i. p. 357.

|| Wright, "Suppression of Monast." Camden. Soc., p. 59.

and of your goodness to mitigate the King's Highness Majesty in the premisses."\*

Hardly had the visitors departed than it was found at Glastonbury, as elsewhere, that the injunctions were not merely impracticable, but subversive of the first principles of religious discipline. Whiting, like so many abbots, begged for some mitigation, and Nicholas Fitzjames,† a neighbour, wrote an urgent letter to Crumwell in support of the Abbot's petition.‡ A month later the latter again ventures to present a grievance of another kind, affecting others besides his community; the inconvenience arising from the suspension of all jurisdiction he had been used to have over the town of Glastonbury and its dependencies. There are many "poor people," he says "who are waiting to have their causes tried," and he cannot believe that Henry's pleasure has been rightly stated in Dr. Layton's orders.§

Though there is no reason to suppose that Abbot Whiting acted differently from other of his brethren in acquiescing without remonstrance in the passing of the Act relating to the suppression of the lesser monasteries in February 1536, there can be no doubt that the proceedings taken under it, and beyond it (in the suppression of many greater monasteries also), must have filled the minds of men of Whiting's stamp with deep anxiety, as revealing more and more clearly the settled purpose of the King. "All the wealth of the world would not be enough to satisfy and content his ambition," writes Marillac, the French ambassador, to his master, Francis I. To enrich himself he would not hesitate to ruin all his subjects.|| The State papers of the period bear ample witness to the justice of this sweeping statement.¶ The monasteries which were yet allowed to stand were drained of their resources by ever-increasing demands on the part of Henry and his creatures. Farm after farm, manor after manor were yielded up in compliance with requests that were in reality demands: pensions in ever-increasing numbers were charged on monastic lands at the asking of those it was impossible to refuse.

Abbot Whiting was allowed no immunity from this species of tyrannical oppression. The Abbey, for instance, had of their own free will granted to Sir Thomas More a corrody or annuity. On his disgrace Crumwell urged the King's "pleasure and commandment" that this annuity should be transferred to him under the

\* R.O.: Crum. Corr. vol. xx. No. 14

† Probably a relative of Judge Fitz-Janes, and grandfather of the first monk professed at St. Gregory's, Douay.

‡ Wright, &c., p. 64.

§ R.O.: Crum. Corr. xiii. f. 58.

|| Inventaire analytique. Corr. politique de MM. Castillou et Marillac, 1537-1542. Ed. J. Kaulek. No. 242.

¶ The fifty-two volumes of Crumwell's Correspondence in the Record Office contain abundant evidence of this.

"convent seal." For a friend Crumwell asks (and for the King's vicegerent to ask was to receive) "the advocation of our parish church of Monketon, albeit that it was the first time that ever such a grant was made." A second request for the living of Batcombe, Whiting was unable to comply with, since another of the King's creatures had been beforehand and secured the prize. In one instance an office which Crumwell had already asked and obtained from the Abbot, he a few months after demands for his friend "Mr. Maurice Berkeley," and because the place was already gone, requests the Abbot will in lieu thereof give the rents of "his farm at Northwood Park." Whiting took an accurate view of the situation : "If you request it, I must grant it," he says ; and adds, "I trust your servant will be content with the park itself, and ask no more."\*

To understand the closing acts of the venerable Abbot's life, it is necessary to premise a few words on suppression in its legal aspect. There seems to be abroad an impression that the monasteries were dissolved by Parliament, and accordingly that a refusal of surrender, such as is found at Glastonbury, was an act, however morally justifiable as a refusal to betray a trust, and even heroic when resistance entailed the last penalty, yet in defiance of the law of the land. And, for instance, in this particular case of Glastonbury, that when insisting on its surrender the King was only requiring that to be given up into his hands which Parliament had already conferred on him. However common the impression, it is not accurate. What the Act (27 Hen. VIII. cap. 28) of February 1536 did was to give to the King and his heirs only such monasteries as were under the yearly value of £200, or such as should within a "year next after the making of" the Act "be given or granted to his Majesty by any abbot, &c. So far therefore from giving to the King the goods of all the monasteries, the Act distinctly recognizes, at least in the case of all save the lesser ones, the rights of their present owners, and contemplates their passing to the King's hands by the cession of the actual possessors. How this surrender was to be brought about was left to the King and Crumwell, and the minions on whose devices there is no need to dwell. Before a recalcitrant superior, who would yield neither to blandishments, bribery, nor threats, the King, so far as the Act would help him, was powerless.

For this case, however, provision was made, though but indirectly, in the Act of April 1539 (31 Hen. VIII. cap. 13). This Act, which included a retrospective clause covering the illegal

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\* Record Office : Crum. Corr. xiii. Nos. 59 to 65; Letters of Abbot Whiting.

suppression of the greater monasteries, grants to him all monasteries, &c. &c., which shall hereafter happen to be dissolved, suppressed, renounced, relinquished, forfeited, given up, or come into the King's Highness. These terms seem wide enough, but there is an ominous parenthesis referring to such others as "shall happen to come to the King's Highness by attainder or attainers of treason." The clause did not find its way into the Act unawares. We shall see it was Crumwell's care how and in whose case it was to become operative. And with just so much of countenance as is thus given him by the Act, with the King to back him, the monasteries of Glastonbury, Reading, and Colchester, from which no surrender could be obtained, "were, against every principle of received law, held to fall by the attainder of their abbots for high treason." \*

The very existence of the clause is, moreover, evidence that by this time Crumwell knew that among the superiors of the few monasteries yet standing there were men with whom, if the King was not to be balked of his intent, the last conclusions would have to be tried. To him the necessity would have been paramount, by every means in his power, to sweep away what he rightly regarded as the strongholds of the Papal power in the country, and to get rid of these "spies of the Pope."† Such unnatural enemies of their prince and gracious lord would fittingly be singled out first, that their fate might serve as a warning to other intending evil-doers. Perhaps, too, Whiting's repute for blamelessness of life, the discipline which he was known to maintain in his monastery, and his great territorial influence, may all have gone to point him out as an eminently proper subject to proceed against, as showing that where the crime of resistance to the King's will was concerned there could be no such thing as an extenuating circumstance, no consideration which could mitigate the penalty.

In the story of what follows we are continually hampered by the singularly defective nature of the various records relating to the closing years of Crumwell's administration. This holds good in particular with regard to the three Benedictine abbots who suffered in 1539. We are therefore frequently left to supply links by conjectures, but conjectures in which, from the broad facts of the case, and such documentary evidence as remains, there is sufficient assurance of being in the main correct.

It was in the autumn that final steps began to be taken in regard to the monastery of Glastonbury and its venerable Abbot. Among Crumwell's "Remembrances" of things to do, or to speak to the king about, still extant in his own hand-writing,

\* Hallam, "Constit. Hist." i. 72.    † R.O.: Crum. Corr. xv. No. 7.

about the beginning of September this year occurs the following : “ Item. For proceeding against the Abbots of Reading, Glaston and the other in their countries.”\* From this it is clear that some time between the passing of the Act in April and September these abbots must have been sounded, and that compliance was not to be expected. By the sixteenth of this month Crumwell’s design had been communicated to his familiar Layton, and had elicited from him a reply in which he abjectly asks pardon for having praised the Abbot at the time of the visitation. “ The Abbot of Glastonbury,” he adds, “ appeareth neither then nor now to have known God, nor his prince, nor any part of a good Christian man’s religion.”† Three days later, on Friday, September 19, the Royal Commissioners, Layton, Pollard, and Moyle, suddenly arrived at Glastonbury about ten o’clock in the morning. The Abbot had not been warned of their intended visit, and was then at his grange of Sharpham, about a mile from the monastery. Thither they hurried “ without delay,” and after telling him their purpose, at once examined him “ upon certain articles, and for that his answer was not then to our purpose, we advised him to call to his remembrance that which he had forgotten, and so declare the truth.”‡ Then they at once took him back to the abbey, and when night came on proceeded to search the Abbot’s papers, and ransack his apartments “ for letters and books, and found in his study, secretly laid, as well a written book of arguments against the divorce of the King’s Majesty and the Lady Dowager, which we take to be a great matter, as also divers pardons, copies of bulls, and the counterfeit life of Thomas Becket in print ; but we could not find any letter that was material.”

Furnished with these pieces of evidence as to the tendency of Whiting’s opinions, the inquisitors proceeded further to examine him concerning the “ articles we received from your lordship ” (Crumwell). In his answers appeared, they considered, “ his cankered and traitorous mind against the king’s majesty and his succession.” To these replies he signed his name, “ and so with as fair words as ” they could, “ being but a very weak man and sickly,” forthwith sent him up to London to the Tower, that Crumwell might examine him again.”

The rest of the letter is significant of the purpose they knew their master would regard as most important :

As yet we have neither discharged servant nor monk ; but now, the

\* B. Mus. Coll. MS. Titus, B. i. f. 446 a.

† The whole of this account is from the letter of the Commissioners to Crumwell, in Wright, p. 255.

‡ R.O. : Crum. Corr. xx. 14; Ellis, 3rd series, iii.

Abbot being gone, we will, with as much celerity as we may, proceed to the dispatching of them. We have in money £300 and above; but the certainty of plate and other stuff there as yet we know not, for we have not had opportunity for the same; whereof we shall ascertain your lordship so shortly as we may. This is also to advertise your lordship that we have found a fair chalice of gold, and divers other parcels of plate, which the Abbot had hid secretly from all such commissioners as have been there in times past; and as yet he knoweth not that we have found the same; whereby we think that he thought to make his hand by his untruth to his King's Majesty.

A week later, on September 28,\* they again write to Crumwell that they "have daily found and tried out both money and plate," hidden in secret places in the abbey, and conveyed for safety to the country. They could not tell him how much they had so far discovered, but it was sufficient they thought, to have "begun a new abbey," and they conclude by asking what the king will have done in respect to the two monks who were the treasurers of the church, and the two lay clerks of the sacristy, who were chiefly to be held responsible in the matter.

On the 2nd October the inquisitors write again to their master to say that they have come to the knowledge of "divers and sundry treasons" committed by Abbot Whiting, "the certainty whereof shall appear unto your lordship in a book herein enclosed, with the accusers' names put to the same, which we think to be very high and rank treasons." The original letter, preserved in the Record Office, clearly shows by the creases in the soiled yellow paper that some small book or folded papers have been enclosed. Whatever it was, it is no longer forthcoming, and, as far as can be ascertained, is lost or destroyed. Just at the critical moment we are deprived, therefore, of the most interesting sources of information. In view, however, of the common sufferings of these abbots, who were dealt with together, their common cause, the common fate which befell them, and the common cause assigned by contemporary writers for their death—viz., their attainder "of high treason for denying the king to be supreme head of the Church," as Hall, the contemporary London lawyer, phrases it, there can be little doubt that these depositions were much of the same nature as those made against Thomas Marshall, Abbot of Colchester. The following is only a sample of these depositions; they were made on November 4, 1539, at the very time the inquiries were being made about Abbot Whiting. Both abbots were then in the Tower together. The deponents declare :†

The abbot was divers times commoning and reasoning against the

\* Wright, p. 257.

† R.O. State Papers, v. 207.

King's Majesty's supremacy and such ordinances as were past by Act of the Parliament concerning the extinguishing of the Bp. of Rome's usurped authority; saying the whole authority was given by Christ unto Peter and to his successor the Bishop of Rome to bind and to lose, to grant pardons for sin, and to be Chief and Supreme Head of the Church throughout all Christian realms, immediately next under Christ. And that it was against God's commandment and his laws that any temporal prince should be head of the Church. And also, he said, that the King's Highness had evil counsel that moved him to take on and to be chief head of the Church of England, and to pull down these houses of religion which were founded by his Grace's progenitors, and many noble men, for the service and honour of God, the commonwealth and relief of poor folks. And that the same was both against God's law and man's law.

Whilst Layton and his fellows were rummaging at Glastonbury, Abbot Whiting was safely lodged in the Tower of London. There he was subjected to searching examinations. A note in Crumwell's own hand, entered in his "Remembrances," says: "Item. Certain persons to be sent to the Tower for the further examination of the Abbot of Glaston."\*

At this time it was supposed that Parliament, which ought to have met on November 1 of this year, would be called upon to consider the charges against the Abbot. At least Marillac, the French Ambassador, who shows that he was always well informed on public matters, writes to his master that this is to be done. Even when the assembly was delayed till the arrival of the King's new wife, Ann of Cleves, he repeats that the decision of Whiting's case will now be delayed. He adds that "they have found a manuscript in favour of Queen Catherine, and against the marriage of Queen Anne, who was afterwards beheaded," which is objected against the Abbot.† Poor Catherine had been at rest in her grave for four years, and her rival in the affections of Henry had died on the scaffold nearly as many years before Layton and his fellow-inquisitors found the written book of arguments in Whiting's study, and "took it to be a great matter" against him. It is hardly likely that, even if more loyal to Catherine's memory than there is any possible reason to suppose, he would stick at a point where More and Fisher could yield and would not give in to the succession. But as in their case, it was the thorny questions which surrounded the divorce, the subject all perilous of "treason," which brought him at last, as it brought them first, to the crown of martyrdom.

It is more than strange that the ordinary procedure was in this

\* B. Mus. Coll. MS. Titus, B. i. f. 441 a.

† "Inventaire Analytique," *ut sup.* No. 161.

case never carried out. According to all law, Whiting and the abbots of Reading and Colchester should have been arraigned for treason before Parliament, as they were members of the House of Peers, but no such "bill of attainder" was ever presented, and in fact the execution had taken place before the Parliament came together.

The truth is, that Whiting and the other abbots were condemned to death as the result of the secret inquisitions in the Tower. Crumwell, acting as "prosecutor, judge, and jury,"\* had arranged for their execution before they left their prison. What happened in the case of Whiting at Wells, and with Cook at Reading, was a ghastly mockery of justice, enacted merely to cover the illegal and iniquitous proceedings which had condemned them untried. This Crumwell has written down with his own hand. He notes in his "*Remembrances*" : †

"Item. Counsellors to give evidence against the Abbot of Glaston, Richard Pollard, Lewis Forstell, and Thomas Moyle." "Item. To see that the evidence be *well sorted* and the indictments *well drawn* against the said abbots and their accomplices." "Item. How the King's learned Counsel shall be with me all this day,‡ for the full

\* Froude, Hist. iii. p. 432.

† *Ut sup. ff. 441 a and b.*

‡ In curious concord with the care of Crumwell in devoting the whole of one of his precious days to the final settlement of the indictment against the abbots, is the solicitude of his panegyrist Burnet (from whom, be it said, in fact though unwittingly, even Catholics have derived their ideas of so many men and events of the Reformation period) to "discover the impudence of Sanders" in his relation in the matter of the abbots' suffering for denying the King's supremacy, and to prove that they did not. It would take up too much space here to repose the mingled "impudence" and fraud of his own account of the matter. It may suffice to quote Collier on this point: "What the particulars were (of the abbots' attainder) our learned Church historian (Burnet) confesses 'he can't tell; for the record of their attainders is lost.' But, as he goes on, 'Some of our own writers (Hall, Grafton) deserve a severe censure, who write it was for denying, &c., the King's supremacy. Whereas if they had not undertaken to write the history without any information at all, they must have seen that the whole clergy, and especially the abbots, had over and over again acknowledged the King's supremacy.' But how does it appear our historians are mistaken? Has this gentleman seen the Abbot of Colchester's indictment or perused his record of attainder? He confesses no. How then is his censure made good? He offers no argument beyond conjecture. He concludes the Abbot of Colchester had formerly acknowledged the King's supremacy, and from thence infers he could not suffer now for denying it. But do not people's opinions alter sometimes, and conscience and courage improve? Did not Bishop Fisher and Cardinal Pool, at least as this author represents them, acknowledge the King's supremacy at first? and yet 'tis certain they afterwards showed themselves of another mind to a very remarkable degree. . . . Farther, does not himself tell us that many of the Carthusians were executed for their open denying the King's supre-

conclusion of the indictments ; " and then, to sum up all : " Item. The Abbot of Glaston to be tried at Glaston, and also executed there."

But amidst these cares Crumwell never forgot the King's business, the "great matter," the end which this iniquity was to compass. With the prize now fairly within his grasp, he notes :

" The plate of Glastonbury, 11,000 ounces and over, besides golden. The furniture of the house of Glaston. In ready money from Glaston, £1,100 and over. The rich copes from Glaston. The whole year's revenue of Glaston. The debts to Glaston, £2,000 and above." \*

Layton has borne witness to the state of spirituals in Glastonbury ; Crumwell gives final testimony to the Abbot's good administration of temporals. The house by this time had, according to Crumwell's construction, come to the King's Highness by attainer of treason. It remained now to inaugurate the line of policy on which Elizabeth improved later, and after, in the secret tribunal of the Tower condemning him without trial for cause of conscience in a sentence that involved forfeiture of life and goods, to put him to death, if Sir John Russell is to be believed, for common felony, the "robbing of Glastonbury Church." For the moment it is difficult to be serious in such a case.

The circumstances of Whiting's last journey homeward must now be told. It is difficult to credit many of the oft-repeated statements in the second and subsequent editions of Sander's " Schism." † They seem to be of a traditional character, to

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macy [which it may be added they had previously admitted], and why then might not some of the abbots have the same belief and fortitude with others of their fraternity ?" (" Eccl. Hist." ii. 173). Hence, counter to Burnet's method of making Abbot Whiting suffer for "burglary" and imaginary treasonable connection with the Pilgrimage of Grace, he has no scruple flatly to assert "neither bribery nor terror nor any other dishonourable motives could prevail" with the abbots of Colchester, Reading, and Glastonbury. "To reach them, therefore, another way, the oath of supremacy, was offered them, and upon their refusal they were condemned for high treason" (p. 164). Nothing need be added to the words of this high-minded Protestant historian reflecting on the baseless assertions of the so-called historian of the Reformation period.

\* *Ibid.* f. 446 a.

† The original edition of Sander simply says that the three abbots and the two priests, Rugg and Onion, "ob negatam Henrici pontificiam potestatem martyrii coronam adepti sunt." In the second and later editions this is cut out, quite another reason is assigned for their death, and the long legendary narrative about Whiting is, without any warning that the account is not that of Sander, inserted in the text. Le Grand (" Defence," iii. p. 210) says he has himself copied a MS. account of Whiting from which he believed the editor of Sander drew his facts. He adds that the MS. is of undoubted authority.

embody the gossip of the countryside current half a century later; in some points running near enough to the truth, in others partaking of legend; such as the sensational scene, wanting alike in sense and probability, in the hall of the palace on the Abbot's arrival at Wells; the assembly prepared to receive him, his proceeding to take the place of honour among the first, the unexpected summons to stand down and answer to the charge of treason, the old man's wondering inquiry what this meant, the whispered assurance that it was all a matter of form to strike terror—into whom or wherefore the story does not tell.

If it is hard to believe that Henry and Crumwell could amuse themselves by ordering the enactment of such a farce, it is more difficult still to conceive of Whiting as the unsuspected victim of it. As we have seen under Crumwell's hand, his fate was already settled before he left the Tower. In the interrogatories, preliminary but decisive, he had there undergone, the Abbot had come face to face with the bare duty imposed on him by conscience at last. He must himself have known to what end the way through the Tower had led, from the time of More and Fisher to his own hour, those who had no other satisfaction to give the King than that which he could offer. It is not impossible, however, that hopes may have been held out to him that in his extreme old age and weakness of body he might be spared extremities; this supposition seems to be countenanced by the account given below. Is the suggestion too horrible that Henry may have remembered Wolsey's end,\* and have reflected that the death of the Abbot in similar circumstances, before the last penalty was paid to his law, would render useless the pains taken to make a terrible example. It is probable that the following passage, hitherto apparently unnoticed, from an unknown writer, represents much more accurately the real facts of the case, than the pseudo-dramatic presentment of the editor of Sander:

Mr. Whiting, Abbot of Glastonbury, going homewards from London, had one Pollard appointed to wait upon him, who was an especial favourer of Crumwell, whom the Abbot neither desired to accompany him, neither yet dared to refuse him. At the next bait, when the Abbot went to wash, he desired Mr. Pollard to come wash with him, who by no means would be entreated thereunto. The Abbot seeing such civility mistrusted, so much the more such courtesy was not void of some subtlety and said unto him: "Mr. Pollard if you be to me a companion, I pray you wash with me and sit down; but if you be my keeper and I your prisoner, tell me plainly, that I may prepare my

\* Wolsey died in the end of fright. Dr. Brewer writes: "His despondency and waning health anticipated the sword of the executioner, and disappointed the malice of his enemies." (Introd. Cal. Letters and Papers, vol. iv. p. 613.)

mind to go to another room better fitting my fortunes. And if you be neither, I shall be content to ride without your company." Whereupon Pollard protested that he did forbear to do what the Abbot desired him only in respect of the reverence he bore his age and virtues, and that he was appointed by those in authority to bear him company of worship's sake, and therefore might not forsake him till he did see him safe at Glastonbury.

Notwithstanding all this, the Abbot doubted somewhat, and told one (Thomas) Horne, whom he had brought up from a child, that he misdoubted somewhat but that Judas having betrayed his master, and yet though he were both privy and plotter of his master's fall, yet did he swear most intolerably he knew of no harm towards him, neither should any be done to him as long as he was in his company; wishing besides that the devil might have him if he were otherwise than he told him. But before he came to Glastonbury, Horne forsook, and joined himself unto his enemies."\*

Some two months after the venerable Abbot had been conveyed to London, he was brought back on his homeward journey. He reached Wells on November 14, where there awaited him (Russell is warranty for the fact) "as worshipful a jury as was charged here these many years. And there was never seen in these parts so great an appearance as were here at this present time, and never better willing to serve the King."† Besides the care taken over the indictments, care had been evidently bestowed to make all secure on the spot. The duty of the jury at Wells was marked out in their charge; they might refuse to take the part assigned to them at their peril. No words are wasted over the sentence. Russell in his report to Crumwell does not so much as even mention it: "The Abbot of Glastonbury was arraigned, and the next day put to execution, with two other of his monks, for the robbing of Glastonbury church."‡

On this "next day" (November 15, 1539) the aged Abbot was taken in his horse litter to Glastonbury.§ In his case there

\* Sloane MS. 2495, in British Museum. It is an early-seventeenth-century Life of Henry VIII. It gives some particulars which agree with those given by Le Grand about Whiting, and may perhaps be taken from the same source.

† Russell to Crumwell: Wright, p. 260.

‡ Hearne the antiquary stated of Whiting that "to reach him the oath was offered to him at Wells," and that refusing it, he had the "courage to maintain his conscience and run the last extremity" (Hist. of Glast. p. 50). These are the words of Collier, ii. p. 164. The "offering" the oath at Wells is probably a misunderstanding on the part of Hearne.

The editor of Sander, consistent throughout, writes: "Glasconiam dimissus est, nihil minus cogitans quam tam celerem sibi vita exitum." A priest approaches to hear his confession; he prays to be spared for a day or two to prepare for death, and to be allowed to say good-bye to his monks; he sheds tears, &c. In preference to this narrative, which savours, like the rest, of the improbable, the report of Pollard is here followed.

was no mercy, no pity. The venerable man, who in a long life had passed through obedience and through honours alike blameless, now bowed under the weight of eighty years, was tied on a hurdle like a common felon. Thus he made his last journey; over the stones the horses rudely dragged the Abbot of Glastonbury through the streets of the town which had owned him for its lord, past the abbey gateway, to the top of the round hill, to the foot of its ancient tower. In his last moments he was deprived, it seems probable, of the consolation he might have derived from a farewell of the two of his spiritual sons who were the companions of his sentence—John Thorn and Roger James.\*

On the summit of the Tor, overlooking the town of Glastonbury, in full view of the towers and gabled roofs of his beloved monastery, the worthy pastor of a house that, among all others in England, had been the home of saints, Abbot Whiting, in the chill of that bleak November morning, kneeled beneath the gallows waiting his final struggle for the crown of martyrdom. Even then he was not allowed to die in peace. There, with all the ghastly apparatus around—the gallows, the boiling cauldron, the butcher's table, and the knife, Pollard pestered him yet once more with "divers articles and interrogatories;" "but he could accuse no man but himself on any offence against the King's Highness, nor he would confess no more gold nor silver nor any other thing more than he did before your lordship in the Tower." Then "he asked God mercy and the King for his great offences towards his Highness." And thereupon took his death very patiently, and his head and body bestowed in like manner as I certified your lordship in my last letter."†

The executioner did his work, the body of the venerable Abbot was speedily cut down and quartered, and the head cut off.

"One quarter standeth at Wells [writes Russell on the following day, November 16], another at Bath, and at Ilchester and Bridgwater the rest; and his head upon the abbey gate at Glaston"—an example, as a scribbler in Henry's service has put it, "of the rewards and ends of traitors, whereby subjects and servants might learn to know their faithful obedience unto their most dread sovereign lord the King's Highness."

\* Dr. F. G. Lee ("Hist. Sketches," and Append. v. p. 419) says: "From a MS. in the handwriting of the late Mr. Sharon Turner it appears that, in looking over certain transcripts from the family collections of the house of Russell, he found the draft of a letter from Sir J. Russell to Crumwell, in which the former admits that the Abbot was intentionally executed alone, so as to prevent his receiving any sympathy or aid from his two spiritual sons in the Order, who were executed on the same day, and because of his stubbornness and obstinacy."

† Wright, p. 261.

An example, too, of the salutary fear, even in the direst human case, of Him who has power to destroy not only the body but the soul, for in itself Abbot Whiting's death was an example of the fear of God.

Before closing this article it is necessary to return to the cause for which the abbot suffered. The absence of documentary evidence has been already adverted to. It is probable that the whole case was from the beginning wrapped in obscurity of set purpose. Marillac, writing to the King of France a fortnight after the execution, says that Abbot Whiting "was attainted of the crime of high treason," but adds that he "has been unable to find out any particulars." A little later he hears it is for "taking the treasures of his church." The account of Burnet, writing nearly a century and a half later, unquestionably represents what Crumwell and the King wished should be believed—that he was guilty of "burglary and treason," without too nice distinction or inquiry how or why. A letter, written from London to Henry Bullenger in February 1540, states that "three of the most wealthy abbots were led to execution a little before Christmas for having joined in a conspiracy to restore the Pope."<sup>\*</sup> Another letter to the same says that they "had conspired in different ways for the restoration of popery."<sup>†</sup> The continuation of Fabyan's Chronicle in the edition of 1542 says: "In November were the abbots of Reading, Glastonbury, and Colchester attainted of high treason, and like traitors put to death." Hall, who was a lawyer living in London at this time, says that the Abbot of Reading and his companions were attainted of high treason for denying the King to be supreme head of the Church, "and the Abbot of Glastonbury was likewise attainted and hanged for the same case and other great treasons."<sup>‡</sup>

Stowe, both in his "Summarie" (1565) and "Chronicles" (1580),<sup>§</sup> Grafton, and Holmsted, contemporaries, agree that Whiting was put to death for denying the royal supremacy. To these may be added Sander (Lewis Trans. p. 144), who was a boy at Winchester School, about fourteen years of age, at the time.

\* Parker Society. Original Letter, i. p. 316.

<sup>†</sup> *Ibid.* p. 614.

‡ Ed. 1548. The first edition (1542) could not be consulted. There is no copy in the British Museum.

§ Stowe says the three abbots "were attainted of treason, and put to death." Grafton's "Abridgment" has the same words in the editions of 1563 and 1564. In later editions the passage is omitted. Languet's Chronicle, continued by Cooper (1549), has the same. Harpsfield, "Breviate Chron." (Coll. MS. Vit. c. ix. autograph) has its only entry in 1539: "Redingius—Castoniensis (sic) et Colcestrenses Abbates passi."

In all respects the most curious and authentic piece of evidence on the point is a hitherto unnoticed paper at the Record Office,\* which has somehow escaped destruction. It is apparently a draft sermon, then the common mode of instructing the people how they were to think of the King's doings, and of those whom he ruined or slew. From its present resting-place it may very well be a draft submitted for Cranmer's preliminary approval. The subject is precisely the execution of the three abbots of Glastonbury, Reading, and Colchester. The style is in turn truculent, ribald, ferocious: narrative there is none; a knowledge of facts is assumed. There is the studied care, again, to assert nothing definitely. A confederacy, a plotting on behalf of the Pope is hinted at, complicity with "Reynold Pool," "the right servant of Antichrist;" and it exclaims: "Could not our English abbots be contented with forked caps, but must look after Romish cardinal hats also?" Sparing, however, as the document may be in definite statements (written within a month or so of the events), it is invaluable as evidence of the real cause of the execution of the three abbots. Coming to curse them, the writer unwittingly has remained to bless. In loading their memory with scurrilous epithets, he dubs them "valiant Romish knights;" their monasteries were "Romish cormorants' cabins" filled with the "false packing of Popery." These abbots were so true to the See Apostolic, so true I say unto that of Rome, and so false unto their sovereign, they called always the King's Grace, in the face of the people, Master, but they thought nothing less than that; but whomsoever they called Master they served the Bishop of Rome, as did right well appear both by their own words and their own deeds. Their treason was a "spiritual treason." "What treason hath been stirring this twelve years but they have had their share in it? and yet how long it was or that it came to light." And of Abbot Whiting in particular: "Had they any other cause but that the King's Grace was too good unto them? For had not John\* Whiting, that was Abbot of Glastonbury, trow ye, great cause, all things considered, to play so traitorous a part as he hath played, whom the King's Highness made of a vile beggarly monkish merchant, governor and ruler of seven thousand marks by the year? Trow ye this was not a good pot of wine? Was not this a fair almose at one man's door? Such a gift had been worth grammercy to many a man. But John Whiting having always a more desirous eye to treason than to truth, careless, laid apart

\* R.O. State Papers, 1539, V.  
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† The Abbot's name was Richard as we have seen, but with religious names are a constant difficulty. They are called by their baptismal, religious surname, or often the name of the place from which they came.

both God's goodness and the King's, and stuck hard by the Bishop of Rome and the Abbot of Reading in the quarrel of the Romish Church. Alas ! what stony heart had —— Whiting to be so unkind to so loving and beneficent a prince, and so false a traitor to Henry VIII., king of his native country, and so true, I say, to that Cormorant of Rome."

Once again in reference to all three abbots : " Is it not to be thought, trow ye, that forasmuch as these trusty traitors have so valiantly jeopardied a joint for the Bishop of Rome's sake, that his Holiness will after their hanging canvass them, canonise them, *I would say, for their labours and pains.* It is not to be doubted but his Holiness will look upon their pains as upon Thomas Becket's, seeing it is for like matter."

May God grant this may be a true prophecy !

FRANCIS AIDAN GASQUET.

#### ART. VI.—PIUS VII. AT SAVONA.

*Le Pape Pie VII. à Savone*, d'après les minutes des lettres inédites du Général Berthier au Prince Borghese, et d'après les Mémoires inédits de M. de Lebzeltern, conseiller d'ambassade autrichien. Par H. CHOTARD, doyen de la faculté de lettres de Clermont. Paris: E. Plon, Nourrit et Cie. 1887.

TOWARDS the end of the year 1884 an interesting manuscript was discovered at Lyons. On examination it proved to be the minutes of a series of letters from General Berthier, the gaoler of Pius VII. at Savona, to Prince Borghese, the governor of Piedmont. M. Chotard, Dean of the Faculty of Letters at Clermont, made a careful study of it, and published the result of his labours in a paper contributed to the " Bulletin de l'Académie de Clermont." In the course of this article he spoke of the mysterious mission of M. de Lebzeltern to Savona, on which Berthier's minutes threw very little light. One of M. Chotard's readers, however, drew his attention to the fact that M. de Lebzeltern's daughter was in possession of her father's unpublished memoirs, and that in these a full account of the mission was given. M. Chotard obtained the memoirs, and found that they contained exactly what he had been seeking. His first idea was to publish them, but permission was refused. He was, however,

allowed to make extracts, and these he gave to the world in a second article. The two articles were afterwards woven together to form the volume named at the head of the present paper.

The restoration of the Catholic religion in France was one of the earliest acts of Napoleon as First Consul. He saw clearly that his vast schemes could not be realized unless he identified himself with the past as well as with the future, and united the principle of order with the principle of progress. Hitherto Religion and the Revolution had been in conflict, and chaos had been the result of their struggle. The man who should yoke them both to his car would be a mightier ruler than the world had ever seen. The restoration was no penitent prodigal's return, but the demand of a conqueror for the hand of a vanquished queen. The Concordat, the offspring of their alliance, reproduced the features of its ill-matched parents. The coronation ceremony, too, was its fitting symbol. The place was the venerable cathedral of Notre Dame ; the celebrant was the successor of St. Peter ; yet the act was the consecration of the overthrow of the ancient monarchy. Such a union could not be lasting. Brought about by fear, it was dissolved by violence. After the peace of Tilsit in 1806, Napoleon decreed that the ports of Europe should be closed against the English. Pius VII. dared to disobey. No emperor, he said, had any authority over Rome : the capital of the Christian world must be open to every nation. Napoleon insisted, but the Pope remained firm, and even threatened. Then were written those famous words : "What does Pius VII. mean by denouncing me to Christendom ? Will he put my dominions under an interdict ? Will he excommunicate me ? Does he think that the arms will drop from the hands of my soldiers ?" Early in 1808 the French troops occupied the Holy City, and soon afterwards the Papal States were formally united to the French Empire. On June 10, 1809, the imperial decree was proclaimed in Rome. This act was speedily followed by the publication of the Bull *Quum memoranda illa die*, excommunicating Napoleon. On the night of July 5, the Holy Father was forcibly removed from the Quirinal, and hurried off to Grenoble. Thence he passed through Valence, Avignon, and Nice, and finally reached Savona on August 16, where he remained until July 19, 1812. The prefect of Montenotte was at first appointed to take charge of him, but on September 27 was superseded by General Berthier.

Long afterwards, when Napoleon was himself a captive, he drew a picture of a model gaoler :

A man, to be fitted for the situation of governor [of St. Helena], ought to be a person of great politeness, and at the same time of great firmness—one who could gloss over a refusal, and lessen the miseries

of the *détenu*s, instead of eternally putting them in mind that they were considered as prisoners.\*

It is but fair to state that the man whom he chose to keep watch over Pius VII. exactly answered to this description. Berthier was the brother of the Prince of Wagram, Napoleon's chief of the staff. He was emphatically a gentleman. His naturally pleasing manners had been cultivated by residence at Court, and a military training had fitted him to obey and to command. He carried out to the letter the rigorous orders of his master, and yet carefully avoided giving offence to his captive. M. Chotard, however, does not sufficiently notice that the patience of Pius, rather than the kindness of Berthier, was the cause of their good understanding. Berthier was not, indeed, a Sir Hudson Lowe, but the saintly pontiff was a far easier charge than the fallen emperor. In selecting Savona, Napoleon had written : " Il y avait du reste une assez grande maison." This was the episcopal palace. Here Pius VII. was to be lodged and provided with every comfort compatible with strict supervision. But these intentions were by no means carried out. The apartments allotted to the Pope had long been untenanted, and contained only a little lumber. The intendant, M. de Salmatoris, whether from absence of orders or want of goodwill, never provided what was wanted. Some furniture was borrowed from the bishop and the inhabitants of the town, but was never returned. The Holy Father really occupied only one room, where he slept and worked. His few attendants were badly lodged in the garrets. When winter came on, the captives suffered much from the cold. The windows had no shutters, and did not fasten tight; there were no carpets on the inlaid and tiled floors. Long negotiations were needed to procure some additional bed-covering. Even the chapel shared in the general squalor. There was, indeed, a great display of state as far as the number of attendants was concerned, but the altar was bare, the linen in tatters, the furniture worn out, and the supply of candles scanty. Berthier sometimes tried to mend matters, but his efforts were not successful. He is certainly to be blamed for not insisting on obedience to his orders.†

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\* "Napoleon in Exile; or, a Voice from St. Helena." By Barry E. O'Meara, vol. i. p. 89. I quote from this work to show what poetical justice was meted out to Napoleon for his treatment of Pius VII. Even the minute details will, I believe, be not without interest. They are like the "undesigned coincidences" which so forcibly prove the genuineness of the Sacred Writings.

† In a letter to Sir Hudson Lowe, Count Bertrand says: " You told me, sir, that the Emperor's room was altogether too small, that Long-

No cardinal was permitted to accompany the Holy Father to Savona. Pacca, his faithful Secretary of State, had indeed been arrested with him, and had accompanied him as far as Grenoble; but there they had been parted. The only ecclesiastic who shared his captivity was his High Steward, Mgr. Doria. This prelate proved very successful in eluding the vigilance of the guard. Berthier suspected him, and watched him closely, but the wily Italian could never be detected. Pius himself, though he made use of him, never had any trust in him. Another member of his household, Porta, the doctor, was also useful in introducing secret letters, and was, moreover, the Pope's confidential secretary. Berthier tells us very little about the Bishop of Savona. Both the Holy Father and the General showed great reserve in their dealings with him. In truth, his position was a very difficult one. M. Chotard says that he showed himself a worthy son of Pius and a worthy subject of Napoleon, and that he faithfully rendered to Caesar the things that were Caesar's, and to God the things that were God's; but we must confess that his conduct oftener reminds us that no man can serve two masters.

The daily life of the captive Pontiff presented little variety. He rose early, and said Mass, at which the General and his officers assisted. After Mass those who had been present were permitted to kiss his foot. During this ceremony careful watch was kept to prevent the presentation of any letter or petition. The morning was spent in reading and writing. His dinner was substantial, as he enjoyed good health and had a good appetite, in spite of his captivity and advanced age. After dinner he walked in the garden, and gave his blessing to the townspeople from the balcony of the palace. In the evening he took another walk, and again bestowed his blessing. His supper was light, and his labours were often prolonged far into the night. He was not forbidden to leave the precincts of the palace, but had he done so, he would have been strictly guarded, and consequently, to avoid this humiliation, he preferred not to go out. It was no doubt very wearisome to have to pace up and down the same

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wood House was altogether bad. . . . If the house where he is be inconvenient, why has he been left there for these two years?" "The quantity of wood and coals allowed not being nearly sufficient, Count Montholon desired me to represent to the Governor," &c. &c. His Excellency said that he "did not see any necessity for so many fires, and that he did not like to humour any person's whims." "The Governor's proposals," Napoleon said, "are all a delusion. Nothing advances since he came. Look there"—pointing to the window—"I was obliged to order a pair of sheets to be put up as curtains, as the others were so dirty I could not approach them, and none could be obtained to replace them." ("Napoleon in Exile," vol. ii. 475, 31, 175; i. 74.)

walks, surrounded by high walls, but unless he took exercise his limbs became swollen.\*

On Sunday evenings a reception was held, to which the Bishop and his canons, the General, the prefect, and the mayor were invited. At these réunions all appearance of restraint was avoided; the conversation was lively and agreeable, so that all parties looked forward to them with interest. No opportunity, however, was given for holding communication with the outer world. All letters addressed to the Holy Father were opened and read by Berthier, and only those were given which contained no information of importance—all others were forwarded to Prince Borghese at Turin. Once or twice the *Moniteur* was sent to the Pope, and then only because it contained something which Napoleon wished him to see.†

The greatest rigour was exercised in the admission of visitors. Not only Frenchmen and Italians, but even strangers with recommendations from their ambassadors, found difficulty in obtaining permission to go to Savona. And even when they arrived there they had to undergo an examination by Berthier, who allowed no one to see the Holy Father without an authorization from Prince Borghese. Thus, the venerable Bishop of Lodi, who was anxious to look upon “the Father of Christians” once more before he died, could not obtain admission until after a long delay. It was not till after ten months’ captivity that the Pope could receive Cardinal Spina, whom he loved, and then only in the company of Cardinal Cazelli, whom he suspected. But in spite of every precaution it was plain to Berthier that his captive was well supplied with information from without. His keen eye detected the changes in the Pope’s demeanour according as the news was favourable or otherwise, and whenever he himself communicated any news he found that he had been anticipated. What was to be done? No blame attached to the Holy Father: he had never undertaken not to receive any forbidden messages.

\* “Saw Napoleon. . . . Ankles and legs a little swelled. Great want of sleep at night. Explained to me several reasons which convinced me that Corvisart had been right in prescribing to him exercise on horseback, which I strongly recommended myself, and in as forcible a manner as possible. Napoleon replied that, under the present restrictions, liable to be insulted by a sentinel if he *budged* off the road, he could never stir out, neither did he think that I myself, or any other Englishman placed in my situation, would avail himself of the privilege to ride, fettered with such restrictions.” (“Napoleon in Exile,” ii. 223.)

† “A proclamation was issued yesterday by Sir Hudson Lowe, prohibiting ‘any person from receiving or being the bearer of any letters or communications from General Bonaparte, the officers of his suite, his followers or servants of any description, or to deliver any to them, under pain of being arrested immediately, and dealt with accordingly’” (*Ibid.* i. p. 48).

Berthier's letters are full of regrets on this subject. He was most anxious to carry out the Emperor's orders, and at the same time he was full of respect and veneration for Pius. His days became miserable : his sleep was troubled ; he was ever in a state of perplexity as to whether he had been too strict or too indulgent. Apart, however, from endeavouring to communicate with the outer world, the Pope gave little trouble. He seldom complained. He recognized the difficulty of Berthier's position, and he felt that a change of gaolers would only make matters worse. On some occasions, however, he protested strongly against Napoleon's conduct. When Mgr. Gregori, the Vicar of Rome, was arrested, the Holy Father told the General that "a mean advantage had been taken of his (the Pope's) calmness ; he had been tossed about for the last five years ; a salve had been applied, not to heal, but to hide the wound. Never had there been an instance of such violence in Rome ; the bureaux and papers of the Holy See had never before been touched ; those papers did not belong even to the Church, but to the Pope, who was its head ; for himself, he was old and had little time to live ; but a mean advantage was taken of his patience and it was useless thenceforth to try to palliate matters to him ; he had waited for five years, and for five years he had been in prison and in chains ; nevertheless, he had remained calm and tranquil, and had not shown any public sign of irritation, or sought pity for his fate. He had never taken any decision without reflection ; . . . but now his patience was at an end ; he had lost all hope ; submission had become useless, and perhaps injurious to the Church ; he had made up his mind, and history would defend him" (Letter of Feb. 4, 1810). He followed the course of the Austrian war with great interest, and scarcely concealed his desire for the defeat of France. Nevertheless, he ordered the *Te Deum* to be sung on Dec. 2, 1809, for the peace, and also for the anniversary of Napoleon's coronation. The Austrian marriage was a great blow to him. Austria was his only hope, and henceforth she was to be in permanent alliance with his captor. He was indignant that no application was made to him to declare the invalidity of the civil marriage with Josephine. However, some days after the celebration of the ceremony he declared that he was glad that it had taken place.\*

\* There is some difficulty here. It is not easy to reconcile Berthier's account of the Holy Father's opinion with the following : "On the eve of the coronation, Pius VII. received a curious and touching visit from Josephine. . . . The Church had never blessed her union with Napoleon, and whatever Catholic instincts she had combined to make her feel what a false position she would occupy on the morrow. . . . The anger of Napoleon was obliged to yield to the determination of Pius. . . . During

But the affairs of the Church naturally aroused his greatest interest. On December 10 a deputation of the Corps Législatif had an audience to congratulate the Emperor. The president, in course of his address, remarked : " Religion will not cease to lean on the throne which has restored it, and the successor of St. Peter will ever be dearer and more venerable to us for having blessed the successor of Charlemagne." To this Napoleon made no direct reply, but observed : " I have overcome many obstacles. I and my family shall always be ready to sacrifice our dearest affections for the welfare of the nation. With the help of God and the constant love of my people I shall overcome everything that may oppose my great designs." Berthier took to the Pope the *Moniteur* containing the report of these speeches. Pius read it slowly and with reflection, and then passed it on to those who were with him. He appeared to be much affected and downcast. He said that " he should have much to answer, but that no question had been put to him." Then he remained silent during the whole evening. A general gloom came over the company ; the Bishop of Savona was in consternation ; Doria hung down his head ; while Porta, as though reproaching the Holy Father, said : " This is the result of the excommunication." Some days afterwards the Pope recovered his spirits a little, but a heavier trial was in store for him. By the *senatus consultum* of February 17, 1810, the Roman States were declared to be an integral part of the French Empire. They were to form two Departments, and to send deputies and senators to Paris ; Rome was to be the second city of the empire ; and the Prince Imperial, if there should be one, was to bear the title of King of Rome. As for the Pope, he was to have a palace in the Holy City and in Paris, and in other parts of the imperial dominions ; a revenue of two million francs a year was allotted to him ; the expenses of the cardinals and the Propaganda were to be defrayed out of the imperial exchequer ; no foreign authority was to have any control over the spiritual affairs of the empire ; the Popes were to swear to take no action against the Four Gallican Propositions, and these were declared to be common to all the churches of the empire. Berthier was ordered to communicate this *senatus consultum* to the Holy Father.

His Holiness [he wrote, February 26, 1810] was very much excited about it ; of course he expected as much : was not his Imperial

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the night preceding the coronation, Cardinal Fesch privately united Napoleon and Josephine in the chapel of the Tuileries, M. de Talleyrand and General Berthier being witnesses." ("Life of Pius VII.", by Mary H. Allies, p. 80.) The General Berthier mentioned is, I presume, the brother of the Governor of Savona.

Majesty the master? But how could he tolerate that the Emperor should provide for the cardinals and Propaganda? What would the Papacy become? What mattered to the Pope the prerogatives left to Rome, and the liberty to reside wherever he pleased?

He became so excited that he rose from his chair and walked up and down. The General vainly tried to pacify him; he answered, "We shall see"—his usual expression of anguish at each fresh blow that he received. He thought much over the *senatus consultum*, and spoke of it with great indignation.

His Imperial Majesty (March 8, 1810) was meddling with matters which did not concern him: he was encroaching on the domain of religion; why was he exhuming the follies of the past? Napoleon, acting the part of Louis XIV., was indeed a strange spectacle; . . . to go back to 1682 was to confound different ages, and to ignore the progress of thought: why seek a weapon which had been rusted by time? After all, might was right: why not openly avow it?

This time, however, the Emperor wanted to know the Pope's opinion. Accordingly, Berthier, who did not understand Italian well, sounded the Holy Father by means of the bishop. Thus we have now (February 27, 1810) the genuine answer of the Pope to Napoleon's speech and the *senatus consultum*. He would not make any public statement or protest, but he gave his private opinion on each head. He declared:

1. That the Church had been unjustly deprived of her possessions;
2. That, even though a part should be restored, he would always lay claim to the remainder;
3. That, if he were allowed to act freely as Pope, he would fulfil his functions even in the catacombs;
4. That he could not approve that the expenses of the Sacred College and of Propaganda should be defrayed out of the imperial exchequer;
5. That he would never accept any revenue for himself;
6. That he could never approve of the oath concerning the Gallican propositions.

Such was the Holy Father's answer. He spoke according to his convictions; but in order to satisfy his reason, he set himself to study the history of the councils of the Church. He borrowed books from the bishop, and read day and night. He worked so hard that Berthier feared that his health would suffer; but for some unknown reason he abruptly put an end to his studies.

Soon afterwards, early in May, the governor's prudence and temper were put to a severe test. The Chevalier Louis de Lebzeltern, councillor of the Austrian embassy in Paris, presented himself at Savona. He had no letter of introduction, but he

showed a passport signed by Fouché, Duke of Otranto, and he demanded an audience of the Holy Father, to arrange certain religious affairs connected with Austria. Berthier's orders were strict, but he yielded so far as to grant permission, on condition that witnesses should be present during the interview. To this M. de Lebzeltern demurred. His business was private; the Emperor knew and approved of his mission, and had told him that the Pope was free. For some days neither would give way. At length, when the envoy was on the point of returning to Paris, Berthier sent for him, and an exciting scene took place. The General complained bitterly of the way he had been treated by the Emperor and his Ministers, and in his rage he went so far as to tear off his epaulettes, and dash them to the ground. After a time he grew calmer, and his last words were: "Go; see the Pope." Lebzeltern remained with the Holy Father an hour and a half, and as he came out he told Berthier that his Holiness had been very reasonable, and would grant all the dispensations required by the Austrian Government. But the General noticed the troubled countenance of the Pope. He also noticed that the Holy Father worked hard all the evening, took no supper till eleven, and kept his light burning until two in the morning. No doubt he was transacting the Austrian business. Some days afterwards a letter reached Savona authorizing the envoy to see the Holy Father privately. Two more audiences were consequently granted, and then Lebzeltern took his departure. Berthier tells us no more about the visit. Perhaps he was not sorry to remain in the dark. It was no part of his duty to inquire into the business of visitors to his captive. All that he had to do was to demand their letter of introduction; if they had one, he admitted them; if they had not, he stopped them. But what the Governor did not care to know is of great interest to us, and fortunately the Memoirs are available just where the letters are silent.\*

Napoleon's glory reached its summit in the beginning of the year 1810. The continent of Europe was at his feet. The daughter of the Caesars had accompanied the trophies of Wagram, and thus a most powerful foe had become his ally. Whatever genius and force of arms could do he had done. One thing, however, was yet wanting to him: the venerable Church still stood in his way. Her temporal dominions, indeed, were petty provinces of his empire; the Pope was his prisoner; the College of Cardinals was an ornament of his Court; the bishops and

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\* A short account of M. de Lebzeltern's visit, based upon his correspondence with Metternich, will be found in Miss Allies' Life of Pius VII., pp. 206-8.

priests were his religious police ; and yet the Church was not in his power. It was as the "air invulnerable" ; he dealt his weightiest blows against it, and it came together again, while he was exhausted by his efforts. This invisible, unconquerable opponent harassed him continually. He had tried to play the part of the Church's champion, and to become the Church's master, and he had failed. Although he affected to despise it, the sentence of excommunication really galled him. Perhaps, too, the sad and gentle face of the captive of Savona haunted him in the midst of his triumphs. Moreover, the Austrian Government, having Catholic subjects, urged the necessity of setting the Pontiff free. M. de Metternich took every opportunity of putting before Napoleon religious and political reasons for the independence of the Holy See. He pointed out that Germany would never recognize a French Pope, or even a Pope in the power of France. Spain and Portugal, too, were already protesting, and in France signs of discontent were not wanting. Napoleon himself did not wish to prolong the Holy Father's captivity. He wished to bring him to Paris. With the Pope as his tool, he would be the ruler of Christendom ; he would send out missionaries into every land, and would combat the Protestants of England and the schismatics of Russia. The cardinals and prelates were already assembled in Paris ; the congregations and religious tribunals were established there ; the archives removed from Rome were at hand ; everything was ready—the Pope had only to come. But Metternich's arguments were not without effect. Napoleon agreed that an envoy should be sent to Savona to find out how far the Holy Father was prepared to yield. No definite instructions were to be given, but it was understood that the renunciation of the temporal dominions and the withdrawal of the excommunication were to be essential parts of the negotiations. A member of the Austrian embassy was entrusted with this important mission. In choosing M. de Lebzeltern, Napoleon wished to pay a compliment to his imperial father-in-law, and also to conciliate Pius VII. The envoy and the Pope had long been friends. As far back as 1800 M. de Lebzeltern had been an attaché of the Austrian embassy in Rome ; he had vigorously supported the power of the Holy See, and had consequently been suspected by the French authorities. After the arrest of the Holy Father he had been expelled from Rome, and it was he who carried to Germany a copy of the Bull of excommunication. Such a man was not likely to be partial to Napoleon. Under the pretext of visiting the Pope for the purpose of transacting some Austrian business, he started from Paris on May 7, and arrived at Genoa on the 12th ; thence he proceeded by sea to Savona, narrowly escaping capture by two English frigates which

were cruising in the neighbourhood. His difficulties in approaching the Holy Father have already been described.

The first interview with the captive Pontiff took place on May 16. Pius was very pleased to see his old friend again, especially as no one else was present. He spoke of his troubles since they had last met, and sympathized with Lebzeltern in what he too had suffered. The envoy in his turn gave an account of the recent events, the treaty of Vienna and the marriage with Marie Louise. To his surprise he found that the Pope knew all, but the narrative had the advantage of leading up to the real object of his mission. Napoleon wanted to come to an understanding. This announcement astonished and pleased the Holy Father. His old affection for the Emperor revived for a moment :

"God grant," he said, "that his marriage may secure the peace of Europe. No one desires his happiness more than I do, and I desire it with all my heart. He is a prince who combines eminent qualities; may God grant that he may recognize his true interests. He holds in his hand the pacification of Holy Church, and in conferring the greatest good upon religion, he will draw down the blessing of Heaven upon his family and upon his peoples, and will transmit a glorious name to posterity."

But this bright prospect only turned the Pope's thoughts to his own miserable position and his difficulties with Napoleon.

"I ask nothing for myself," he then added; "I am old, and have no wants; I have sacrificed everything to my duty, and I have nothing to lose; hence no personal consideration can turn me from the path traced out by my conscience, or make me desire the slightest alleviation for myself. I do not want any pension or honours; the alms of the faithful will do for me. Other Popes have been far poorer, although far worthier than I. Believe me, I have no single desire outside this narrow enclosure, which you have been the first to enter alone; but I earnestly demand that my communications with the bishops and the faithful should be re-established."

M. de Lebzeltern observed that the Emperor was calmer since his marriage, and that the Pope should give his Majesty the opportunity of an honourable retreat.

"I urged," he says, "every argument likely to make the Sovereign Pontiff feel the necessity of escaping from his disadvantageous position, and of putting himself in the way of profiting by the chances which the future might bring. His complete and touching resignation, when force deprived him of his states, his possessions, and his prerogatives, had been the effect of the sublime virtues which Christendom revered in him. But at the present time this very passiveness was stultifying itself in an obscure corner of the empire, and he would some day regret the opportunities which he was losing."

He assured the Holy Father that he himself, Metternich, and their master, the Emperor Francis, were all devoted to his cause ; and he then proceeded to state what he thought might be the terms of peace. Napoleon insisted on retaining possession of Rome ; he did not perhaps demand a formal renunciation on the part of the Pope, but he required that his Holiness's conduct should be perfectly passive, and should amount in fact to an acknowledgment of the Emperor's suzerainty. Moreover, Napoleon required that the sentence of excommunication against him should be withdrawn. If the Holy Father conceded these two points, Lebzeltern believed that the Emperor would liberate his Holiness, and that the spiritual difficulties might be arranged. Pius was much affected by the action of Austria.

" How glad I should be," he said, " to owe an arrangement to the good services of your Court ! Let the Emperor permit me to return to Rome ; let him surround me with a suitable number of persons for my consistories and councils ; let my relations with the faithful be perfectly free. I cannot indeed compel him to restore what he has taken from me ; very well, then—I will protest, but I will keep quiet."

This did not satisfy Lebzeltern. Protests would only lead to further difficulties, whereas silence after so many previous declarations would not invalidate the Pontiff's rights ; and, besides, who could tell what the future might bring ? At the present moment insistence on the temporal power would destroy the spiritual power, and Rome without the Pope would become a desert city. The Holy Father listened attentively, and replied :

" I will not take any revenue or honours. Let Napoleon leave me in peace in Rome, exercising the functions of my ministry. . . . Let him make no attack on my spiritual rights, and give me no occasion to explain my position, and I will say nothing."

But there was greater difficulty about the withdrawal of the excommunication.

" You think," said the Pope, " that it is for me to take the first step ; but what step can I take ? He is excommunicated by my Bull : even without it he would be, *ipso facto*, excommunicated as a persecutor of the Church and her ministers." Lebzeltern had now to use all his diplomatic skill. " Were I in your Holiness's place, I would write the Emperor a letter in terms of mildness and moderation, but full of dignity, demanding my freedom and the power to exercise my apostolic functions ; I would invoke his aid for this purpose, and this letter I would publish to the world. This step would not compromise the head of the Church, the Vicar of Christ, who is always ready to forgive ; whereas it would greatly embarrass Napoleon. It would be a clever stroke, which would infallibly break in his hands the weapons of calumny which he uses against you." " Listen to me, Lebzeltern,"

said the Pontiff. "You see plainly that I am ready to grant a good deal, and that it is no merely temporal consideration which stands in the way of an arrangement; but in all that concerns the *jus divinum* and my conscience you see me calm and resigned in my captivity. It would be a thousand times more bitter—I would mount the scaffold rather than deviate in the least from my duties. But I should betray them if I were to remove the excommunication without sufficient reason, and I should be accused of weakness; and as for the letter that you speak of—a sort of encyclical—it might be followed by such important consequences in the case of a man of his character, who might perhaps find the means of altering my words and of publishing them to my detriment, that I cannot make up my mind to it without mature deliberation with my council." The Holy Father's emotion was great, and Lebzeltern tried to calm him by admitting the force of his arguments, and yet advising him to make some advance. At last the Pope recovered himself: "if Napoleon expresses his wish to be reconciled with the Church, and gives proof of his sincerity *by some act*, this matter can be arranged, and certainly no one desires it more than I do." With this the first audience ended.

Lebzeltern did not see the Holy Father again until May 18. Pius wished for twenty-four hours' reflection, but he had only twenty-four hours' torment and fatigue. Now, more than ever, he felt the need of a trusty adviser, and none was at hand. But there was One, invisible indeed, but ever present, Whom he could ask for light and strength. Prayer alone brought him comfort. When the envoy entered, the Holy Father at once complained of his isolation. Lebzeltern took advantage of this to urge the necessity of coming to some arrangement, but he only provoked further menaces against the Emperor.

"As for me, said Pius, whether I live solitary and confined, or be a hundred feet underground, is just the same to the world and to me. Must there not be martyrs where there are persecutors? Why push me to extremes? The measures with which I threaten him will have more effect than you think."

He confirmed this by quoting a number of instances in the history of the Church, especially the cases of Gregory VII., Innocent III., and Innocent IV.

"Most Holy Father," replied Lebzeltern, "permit my sincerity to make you observe that these examples are not applicable to the present times. Your Holiness is too near heaven to notice the tares which have sprung up over the whole earth. There are very few who think as in the days that you refer to, and of these only a small number have the courage of their opinions. Even pious persons hold that the instances cited by your Holiness tell against the too extensive power of the Popes. In France your interdicts would be the subject of gossip and of insolent newspaper articles, and would only excite here and there some desires, some silent and barren regrets, which would

soon be forgotten. I should betray your confidence if I did not submit the whole truth to you, such as I know it. What effect did your first excommunication produce ? ”

After an animated discussion it was understood that the excommunication should be withdrawn, provided that the Emperor furnished some pretext sufficient to justify the Pope in his own conscience and in the eyes of the faithful. Now came the question of the return to Rome. Lebzeltern explained that the Emperor had given up his plan of establishing the Holy See at Paris, and had now fixed on Avignon. But the Holy Father would not hear of this arrangement ; his See, his diocese, was at Rome, and nowhere else would he consent to go.

“ I have already told you what I am disposed to do on my side ; what more does he want ? Does he want me to acknowledge him as Emperor of the West ? Very well, I will do so. Does he want me to crown him as such in Rome ? Very well, I will crown him. This will not be opposed to my conscience, from the instant that he is reconciled to the Church and ceases to persecute her ; but I require him to have some consideration for her Head, who is the spiritual chief of Christendom.”

“ Most Holy Father,” answered Lebzeltern, “ you grant me too much not to grant me more ; it would be necessary to allow your subjects to obey the existing authorities, and to withdraw your prohibitions on this point.”

A gesture, which the Pope could not suppress, showed how much he felt this stipulation. He remained silent for some moments, and then replied :

“ It would be better to say nothing to them.” [And he added :] “ This might be capable of arrangement if we come to an agreement about the rest.”

Some other business relating to the Gallican propositions, the support of the sacred congregations, the nomination of non-Italian cardinals, and the selection of certain persons necessary to enable the Holy Father to fulfil his functions as Pope, terminated the interview.

On May 20 Lebzeltern had his third and last audience. It took place in the evening, and lasted till a late hour. He found the Holy Father in a strange state of mind—not, indeed, withdrawing what he had granted, yet regretting his concessions, and hoping that the Emperor would not be satisfied. When Lebzeltern showed him the résumé which he had drawn up of their former discussions, Pius stood up, and said in a tone of solemnity and majesty :

“ I have disclosed to you many opinions which I would never make known to any one else. I am not sorry for having done so, because I am confident that you will never betray me. Nevertheless, listen

to me : I authorize you to express nothing but the following, which indeed you have seen and heard for yourself—namely, that you found me resigned to the decrees of Divine Providence, into Whose hands I exclusively and humbly entrust the defence of my cause and my destiny, firm and immovable in all that concerns my conscience and divine right. Speak of my calmness and serenity in my prison, of my conviction that the troubles which menace the Church should be attributed to their real author. Say that my most ardent desires are that the Emperor should be reconciled to the Church, that he should reflect that the glories of this world are no security for eternal happiness ; that he should put an end to his persecutions ; that he should provide me with the means of performing the sacred duties of my ministry and of freely communicating with the faithful ; that he should not deprive them of the assistance of their common Father, and that for this purpose he should place me in the See of St. Peter. Add that I earnestly and truly desire a reconciliation, but never at the expense of my conscience ; that, finally, I should consider it a signal blessing from Heaven that Austria should become the means of bringing us together. Say boldly that I have no personal animosity, no ill-feeling against Napoleon ; that I forgive him with all my heart for the past ; that nothing would cause me so much pain as that he should believe me capable of feelings which God forbids, and which find no access to my heart or to my mind. There, continued the Holy Father, that is all that you can declare, if you do not want to drag me into worse complications ; that is all that I can express in this seclusion to which I have been condemned.

He then went on to express his distrust of the Emperor's good faith, and to threaten further spiritual penalties. As he spoke his whole manner became menacing ; his voice was loud, and the usual calmness of his brow was changed into an expression of offended dignity. Lebzeltern in his turn looked doubtful and troubled ; what was to be the outcome of their meeting ? The Holy Father noticed his appearance, and remembering what had been said about the uselessness of spiritual weapons, became calmer, and said in his usual mild tone :

However, do not be afraid ; I will not take any extreme measures without necessity—you know that my character is opposed to them. . . . I hope that God will grant me strength to bear my cross patiently. Do not fear any imprudent action on my part. If you only knew the anguish of my nights as well as you know the anguish of my days, you would understand better the changes in my dispositions and in my language.

In this last interview we see the whole character of Pius. The troubles of the Church, much more than his own, made him anxious for peace. He was ready to go to any lengths short of betraying the Church's essential rights. But when he yielded he feared that he had gone too far. Then it was that he felt his loneliness and the misery of his position. No wonder that he

sometimes broke out into denunciations of Napoleon, and yet even in the midst of these he does not conceal his paternal affection for the man who had caused all his woes. In parting with the friend whose visit had been so welcome, we see him calm and majestic, suffering yet resigned, earnestly desiring the peace of the Church, but determined not to relinquish her rights.

Lebzeltern returned to Paris, and submitted the result of the mission. The Holy Father would tacitly acknowledge his suzerainty of the Emperor over Rome, and would withdraw the excommunication, if some pretext were given, but he insisted on residence in Rome, and the free exercise of his spiritual power. These terms, however, did not satisfy Napoleon, and thus the mission failed. Lebzeltern had done all that could be done, but success was impossible; the Emperor demanded what the Pope could not grant.

The next visitors to Savona were Cardinals Spina and Cazelli, and the Holy Father's nephew, Monsignor Chiaramonti. Berthier has very little to say about them, except that the cardinals were not satisfied with the Pope, nor the Pope with them, especially with Cazelli. Soon afterwards Berthier was relieved of his post; and as this paper began with his appointment, so now with his departure we bring it to a close.

The subsequent history of Pius VII. is well known. Savona continued to be his prison until June 19, 1812, when he was removed to Fontainebleau. There, in a moment of weakness, he yielded to Napoleon's demands, but only at once to retract. The campaign of 1814 set him free; and at last, on May 24, the feast of Our Lady Help of Christians, he entered the Eternal City amidst the joyous acclamations of his subjects:

O dies felix! memoranda fastis,  
Qua Petri sedes fidei magistrum  
Triste post lustrum reducem beata  
Sorte recepit!

Retribution had already fallen on his persecutor. Napoleon had signed his abdication on April 28 in that very palace of Fontainebleau which had so lately been the prison of the Pope. The brief stay at Elba and the Hundred Days were followed by another abdication and another exile: St. Helena was to atone for Savona.

At length the end came to the Emperor and to the Pontiff. Napoleon passed away in middle age, shorn of his imperial titles and conquests, a prisoner on a barren islet in mid-Atlantic. Pius soon followed, but full of years, in peaceful possession of his honours and his States, a Sovereign in his palace in the capital of the Christian world. It was as Our Lord had said: "Whosoever shall fall upon that rock, shall be broken; but upon whomsoever it shall fall, it shall grind him to powder."

T. B. SCANNELL.

## ART. VII.—THE MEMOIRS OF COUNT BEUST.

*Aus Drei Viertel-Jahrhunderten: Erinnerungen und Aufzeichnungen.* Von FRIEDERICH FERDINAND GRAF VON BEUST. Two vols. Stuttgart: Cotta. 1887.

*Memoirs of Friedrich Ferdinand Count von Beust.* Written by himself. With an Introduction containing Personal Reminiscences of Count Beust's Career as Prime Minister of Austria and Austrian Ambassador in London. By Baron HENRY DE WORMS, M.P. Two vols. London: Remington & Co. 1887.

THE greater part of Count Beust's career was devoted to the championship of a failing cause—that, namely, of Austria and Southern Germany, as against the rising power of Prussia. When the great battle of Hapsburgh against Hohenzollern was decided in favour of the latter by the policy of Bismarck and the strategy of Moltke, Count von Beust left the service of his native Saxony for that of Austria, and had the rare good fortune to achieve in his later years a distinct success, which went far to counterbalance the failure of his earlier policy. He will be remembered in history as the statesman who re-organized the Austrian Empire after the disaster of Sadowa, and by granting Home Rule to Hungary closed the long-standing quarrel between Austria and Magyar, which had been one of the chief sources of Austria's weakness in her hour of trial. Count von Beust left his Memoirs ready for the press when he died last October at Altenburg, and they form a very important contribution to the rapidly accumulating materials for the history of our own time. His recollections extend back to the fall of the first Napoleon, and his Memoirs close with his own retirement from public life in 1882. They thus cover a period of three-quarters of a century, as their German title indicates.

Though Von Beust belonged by birth to the little kingdom of Saxony, his family had many historical associations with Austria. Four of his name fell fighting in the Austrian ranks at Muhldorf in 1322; another served under Montecuculi, and another took part in Sobieski's famous relief of Vienna. His father was attached to the Saxon Court, then in enforced vassalage to the first French Empire, when Friedrich Ferdinand, the future Chancellor of Austria-Hungary, was born at Dresden in 1809. He was a sickly, irritable child, and he notes in his memoirs that even in 1845 a life insurance company made difficulties about giving him a policy; but for all that, he lived to the age of

seventy-seven, and after a busy, active life, he was able to work at his Memoirs almost up to the day of his death. His first recollections of great events begin with the year 1813, when he was only four years old. His parents had left Dresden, and had gone to pass a summer and winter at the château of Zöpen, near Leipzig, a country seat belonging to his father.

To this change of residence [he says] I owe my ever-vivid recollection of an event of world-wide and historical celebrity, the battle of Leipzig. I was then in my fifth year. The battle lasted from the 16th to the 18th of October. The days of that week are engraved upon my memory. On Saturday, the 16th, Prince Schwarzenberg opened a cannonade close to our house, by which all the panes of glass on the side nearest to the guns were shattered into fragments. I soon grew reconciled to the battle, as we were told that we were to have no lessons during its progress. On the following day (Sunday) I was playing in the yard, when suddenly two officers appeared on horseback. My parents, who were at church with my brothers, were summoned in the greatest haste. The officers were Russians, and they came for worse things than merely to quarter themselves upon us. All the animals that were in the stables—horses, cows, and sheep—were dragged away. I can still see the maids crying as the soldiers were leading off the finest of the cows. The yard was full of armed men; we had been taken to an attic, from which we could distinctly see the Bashkirs shooting with arrows at our windows. On the third and decisive day, the 18th of October, I remember that a Prussian officer entered and embraced my father with the words: "The king has come over." The Saxon troops had gone over to the allies—too late for the king, too soon for themselves. In connection with this incident I attach a few historical facts that I learned at a more advanced age. The change of sides above referred to during the battle has been justly condemned from a military point of view, but this condemnation was only expressed later on. If we except the French historians, the mistake was less apparent to contemporary writers. I ventured to say "too soon," because the fate impending over Saxony remained the same, whether the army were disarmed after the battle or joined the hostile forces. That other effects might result, or that the cause of the king could yet be saved, was the mistake of those who conducted the troops to the allies. To this we must add the feeling of the country, which was bitterly opposed to the French. The people, otherwise undemonstrative in those days, showed this feeling so openly, even before the lost battle, that the Queen said to Napoleon, on her arrival at Leipzig: "Vous nous avez fait perdre ce que nous avions de plus précieux, l'amour de nos sujets."

In 1819, six years after Leipsic, the Beust family left Zöpen for Dresden, and young Beust began to attend the classes at the Kreuzschule, which he left in 1826, coming out at the head of the school, and then proceeding to the Hanoverian University of

Göttingen. The university was then at its zenith, and Beust notes, with evident pride, the names of the professors whose courses he followed. Those of Eichhorn, Bouterweck, Sartorius, Heeren, and Blumenbach, occur on the list. He was only a year at Göttingen, but that year had a decisive influence on his subsequent career, and on his political views. He worked hard, and attended six lectures daily. Those of Sartorius, on politics, inspired him with a strong desire to take to diplomacy as his life's work, and at the same time the tone of thought in the University was distinctly Liberal. "The connection of Hanover with England," says Beust, "slight though it was politically, developed among the students English ideas and modes of thought, and in this sense I can truly say that I have been a Liberal from my youth upwards." From Göttingen he went with one of his brothers to study at Leipsic. For the first two years of his course there he took matters very easily; but in the third year he made up for lost time by hard work, and very hard it was. The tutor came every day at six A.M., and from that time until ten P.M. only two hours were allowed for food and exercise. No wonder, he adds, that at the end of the year he and his brother both passed the law examination in the first class.

He was now twenty-one, and he began to think of executing the project formed at Göttingen of entering upon a diplomatic career. But there were obstacles in the way. A Minister was in power at Court with whom to be suspected of Liberalism was a deadly sin, and young Beust reluctantly made up his mind to give up politics, and try to obtain a professorship at Leipsic. But before his arrangements were completed, the revolution of 1830 at Paris had produced a change in European politics, of which the effects were soon felt in Saxony. A more Liberal Minister was soon in power at Court, and then by the interest of his family young Beust was appointed to a minor post in the Foreign Office, and felt that he had his foot on the first round of the ladder by which he hoped to mount to fame and power.

His first mission to a foreign Court was a mere piece of ceremony. In 1833 the Prince Regent of Saxony, afterwards King Frederick Augustus, married a Bavarian princess; the event was preceded by a solemn proposal of marriage, and Beust was appointed to accompany to Munich the high Court official entrusted with the mission. Although he travelled in a special post-chaise with four horses, the journey from Dresden to Munich took no less than five days. In this same year he spent a long vacation travelling in Switzerland, France, and England; but it was not till three years later that he received his first appointment of importance in the diplomatic service. In 1836 he became Secretary of Legation at Berlin, where he resided for two years.

My lucky star [he says] decreed that in these two years of a very uneventful time the visits to Berlin of the Dukes of Orleans and Nemours took place : a visit that only passed off favourably\* owing to the authoritative interference of Frederick William III. with his family and society. How many things have changed in that comparatively short period of thirty years ! When I think of 1836 and 1866 —the King of Prussia, fully armed for war, allied against Austria with the last King of Sardinia, who placed himself, as King of Italy, on the thrones of his exiled fellow-sovereigns—and then to reflect on 1836 ! In those days Berlin was, almost more than Vienna, the home of the strictest legitimacy. Some French families were to be found there of very pronounced legitimist views, and on friendly terms with the Court and the aristocracy. The results of the Belgian Revolution, too, were naturally felt at Berlin more keenly than elsewhere : the Queen of the Netherlands being a sister of Frederick William III., one of his daughters being married to Prince Frederick, and one of his sons to Princess Marianne of the Netherlands. Among the embassies in Berlin none were more the centre of everything that was legitimist and absolute than that of King Charles Albert of Sardinia. The envoys of Don Carlos were often to be seen at the Sardinian embassy. . . . And war with Austria ! Who would have ventured—I do not say to speak—but even to think of such an eventuality ! In those days Vienna did not take hints from Berlin ; but nothing took place in Berlin without the knowledge and approval of Prince Metternich, and nobody dreamt of finding in that circumstance anything derogatory to Prussia.

Things have certainly changed since 1836. It was in that year that young Otto von Bismarck came of age, who now poses at Berlin as the arbiter of peace and war in Europe. His entry into political life came much later than Beust's, but before long we shall see these two men engaged in the struggle which ended at Sadowa.

In 1838 Beust was moved from Berlin to the Saxon Legation at Paris, where he remained until 1841. During this period he was twice Chargé d'Affaires at the Legation during the absence of the Minister ; and though there were no negotiations of any importance in progress between the Saxon Court and that of Louis Philippe, his position brought him into close relation with two French Ministers whose names belong to history—Marshal Soult and M. Guizot. He also witnessed some stirring events : the émeute of May 1839, the subsequent trial of Barbès and Blanqui, and in the following year the trial of Louis Napoleon for his expedition to Boulogne. In 1841 Beust was promoted to the Legation at Munich, where, although at a smaller capital,

\* The feeling against the Orleans princes was of course the result of the strong Legitimist tone of Berlin society.

he was in sole responsible charge of Saxon interests, and had some matters of real importance to bring to a satisfactory issue, especially negotiations concerning the construction of the railway system of Southern Germany. At Munich he married a Catholic lady, the daughter of General von Jordan. He refused to give any engagement as to the children of the marriage being brought up Catholics, and accordingly the ceremony took place in a Protestant church ; his bride, herself the daughter of a mixed marriage, apparently offering no serious opposition. After five years spent at Munich, he was appointed resident Minister of Saxony in London. Ever since his university days he had had a decided liking for everything English ; and of his residence in London he says :

England is the country where I passed the greatest portion of my career as a diplomatist : two years as Saxon Resident Minister, seven as Austrian Ambassador, and during various intermediate periods as Plenipotentiary of the Germanic Confederation, and on shorter missions. I can truly say that I have always looked upon England as my second home. Whenever I visit my friends in England (a pleasure I cannot deny myself) my heart rejoices at the sight of Dover. Others have doubtless had a similar experience. Whether it be the magnificent hospitality that one finds in England, or the loyal attachment one meets with, there is a homely feeling about the country which attracts the visitor in spite of the dreary monotony of English life and the lack of amusement.

In London and in Paris, Beust had the good fortune to witness important events. The chief of these were the victory of Sir Robert Peel on the question of the corn laws, and his defeat shortly after on the Irish Coercion Bill. But it is more interesting to note that, while he was in London, Beust became aware that the idea of a unification of Germany under the headship of Prussia as against Austria was supported and promoted by an influential circle in England. The most active men in this group were Baron Stockmar, the well-known writer of the "Life of the Prince Consort" ; Bunsen, then Prussian Ambassador in London ; the Queen's step-brother, Prince Leiningen ; and, above all, Prince Albert himself. Beust has more to tell of this movement later on, and what he says is confirmed by the independent testimony of the recently published memoirs of another diplomatist, Count Vitzthum.

The revolution of 1830 had opened for Beust the way to a diplomatic career. 1848—the "year of revolutions"—witnessed his accession to office in the King's Government at Dresden. His first appointment, however, was little more than nominal. Among the effects of the February revolution at Paris was an insurrection in the month of March in Saxony. A

change of Ministry was decided upon, in order to calm the popular excitement, and Beust received a message summoning him to come with all haste to Dresden, in order to assume the portfolio of Foreign Affairs. He travelled night and day, only to learn on his arrival that events had taken a new turn, and that it was considered advisable to have a more Radical Minister of Foreign Affairs, and a man better known to the people. It was naturally felt that Beust ought to have some compensation for his disappointment; the embassy at Berlin was vacant, and he was offered and accepted the post. Before going to Berlin he made a short visit to England. He had a long interview with Prince Albert, and found him full of the idea of German unity in the Prussian sense. The Prince Consort never forgot that he was one of the princes of Germany, and he was always hostile to Austria, and apparently anxious to use the exalted position that his marriage had given him in order to influence events in the Fatherland. At Berlin Beust found the Liberals enjoying a brief hour of triumph, and the Court and the Reactionists generally looking to Austria for help, and eagerly devouring the news of the Radetzki's victories in Italy and of the advance of Windischgrätz on Vienna. The downfall of the Liberals in Austria was followed by a rapid reaction in the rest of Germany—a reaction that was bloodless at Berlin, but cost some severe fighting in the south.

It was during this short stay at Berlin, in 1848, that Beust first met his great antagonist Bismarck. He tells the story of the meeting in characteristic fashion:—

One of my most remarkable recollections is connected with the last days of 1848, when I first met Prince Bismarck. I was acquainted with Herr von Savigny, who was afterwards envoy at Dresden. His house was close to my residence in the Wilhelmstrasse. One morning, when I went to see him he said: "I have a visitor in the house—Herr von Bismarck, of whose doings in the Landtag you must have heard." Immediately after, Bismarck entered in his dressing-gown, smoking a long pipe. Our conversation turned upon the news which had just been received, that Robert Blum had been shot (by the Austrians). I expressed the opinion that from an Austrian point of view this was a political mistake. When I expressed this opinion, Bismarck at once interrupted me with the words: "You are quite wrong; if I have an enemy in my power, I must destroy him." I have remembered this saying more than once.

Beust's meeting with Bismarck was one of the last events in his career in the Saxon embassies and legations. He had been twelve years Secretary of Legation, Chargé d'Affaires, and Ambassador in Munich, Berlin, Paris, and London; it was a good training for a future Minister of Foreign Affairs, and early

in 1849 he was called to fill that post at Dresden, in a new Ministry formed on the resignation of the Ministers who had taken office in the previous March. He believed that by waiting a little he might have assumed office later on under much more favourable circumstances. The prospect was not an inviting one, of beginning his career as a Minister in the midst of the confusion and disorder of a period when revolution was gradually giving way to reaction. But the King made a personal appeal to him for help : "I would gladly have spared you," he said ; "but I did not know how to escape my difficulties in any other way." After this, Beust accepted office without hesitation.

He remained Minister of Foreign Affairs and practically Prime Minister of Saxony from 1849 to 1866. During those years his policy was a very simple one. He strove, though, as the event proved, unsuccessfully, to prevent Saxony from being reduced to the position of a tributary State in a Prussianized Germany. The cry of unity or of union has been a very seductive one in the last thirty or forty years of European history. "Union is strength" is an adage that seizes the popular mind, which unfortunately forgets that there are many kinds of union, and that some forms of union produce, not strength, but weakness. In Germany, as in Italy, the cry for unity was used by two astute statesmen—Cavour in the one case, Bismarck in the other—to effect a union which in each instance sacrificed a number of small States to the political aggrandizement of a single Power. A true union is not effected by the trampling out of local liberties, and by the determination that every portion of a great State shall have its institutions, its laws, and its administrations regulated upon one Procrustean principle. Italian unity and German unity have called forth no small enthusiasm here in England, where neither the Pope nor the Austrians were ever very popular ; but, looked at from an impartial standpoint, what can the unification of Italy be called but the subjugation and exploitation of the peninsula by Piedmont, just as German unity is simply the subjection of the South German States to Prussia. As long as both Austria and Prussia were members of the German Confederation, neither of them had an assured preponderance, and the smaller States were protected by the very rivalry of their powerful neighbours. Beust held that it was the interest of the smaller States to unite in resisting all attempts to exclude Austria from the Confederation, while he held that no opportunity should be lost to curb the growing power of Prussia. A fallen cause has few friends, and it is easy to say now that Beust was using what influence he had to resist the natural current of events, and that his policy was doomed from the first to failure. But we have no proof whatever that what has occurred is the outcome of the natural current of events ; we do

know that there were moments when the cause for which Beust strove unsuccessfully might very easily have been triumphant ; and it is at least an open question how far Europe is better, richer, or happier for the triumph of Bismarck, the extinction of many of the smaller States, the practical subjugation of the rest, and the unification of Germany in the interest of Prussian militarism. Beust's position is very well summed up in a speech which he made in 1861 :

It is now [he said] not a question of timid anxiety as to the continued existence of the various Governments ; it is still less a question of a dislike on principle of a preponderating power in Germany. You will find all the Governments of the larger German States convinced that States of their importance can exist and flourish if they subordinate themselves to a confederation in which they have a share in proportion to their greatness ; but that subordination to a more powerful State, to which they would have to render implicit obedience, would very seriously diminish their prospect of further existence, and that their incorporation into one State would be inevitable.

The German unity of to-day is strong precisely in so far as Bismarck has abstained from a complete levelling down of all the smaller States into Prussian provinces. But he has gone much farther in this direction than a higher and truer statesmanship would have dictated. Above all, the Prussian barrack-yard ideal has led to very serious sacrifices of the interests of the smaller States for the glorification of Prussia and the Prusso-German Empire.

Beust was hardly installed at the Saxon Foreign Office, in the spring of 1849, when the refusal of that Government to accept the Liberal plan for the reorganization of Germany led to a rising at Dresden and four days of street-fighting—a conflict of which the result was at one time doubtful, and which was only decided by the arrival of Prussian troops. Wagner the musician was active on the side of the insurrection, and malicious people said that this was why Beust never cared for his compositions. The failure of the insurrection naturally strengthened the position of the Government. So far as Saxony was concerned, it was the last wave of the storm that began in 1848.\* Beust felt himself, at last, firmly seated in the saddle.

\* Here is an amusing incident in the insurrection—an incident which shows how near comedy is to tragedy. Beust and his friends were all but besieged in one of the public offices. "We were told that a man, who would not give his name and who looked rather suspicious, wished to speak to us on urgent matters. Von Abendroth advised us to be cautious, though the man announced that he came from Königstein [where the Court then was]. Rabenhorst took a loaded pistol and handed me another. The man entered with his hand in his coat pocket, and he crept along

He had the full confidence of his Sovereign, and until 1866 he practically ruled and directed the policy of Saxony, one of the most important of the second order of States in the old Confederation. In 1830 a great opportunity presented itself for settling the question of Prussia's position in Germany in a sense favourable to Austria and the minor States; but the opportunity was lost, and never returned. Prussia placed herself in a position which gave Austria a good *casus belli*, at a moment when all the advantages would have been with the imperial troops, and Austria had the magnanimity to allow her to retreat from it with a mere promise to behave better in the future. The facts are these:—the Elector of the little State of Hesse Cassel had attempted to impose new taxes without the consent of the Chamber: disturbances broke out in the Principality, and the Elector appealed to Austria for help to repress them. The diet of the Confederation at Frankfort approved of the application, and Austrian and Bavarian troops prepared to march into Hesse Cassel with this authorization. Prussia had been supporting the malcontent party in the electorate, and now, in direct defiance of the Frankfort Diet, she occupied Cassel with her troops before the allies could arrive. Prussia was clearly in the wrong. She was resisting a decree of the Confederation, and Austria, supported by the minor States, could easily have obtained a decree of Federal execution against Prussia, and marched upon Berlin. Three Austrian corps-d'armée were ready in Bohemia, and these would have been supported by 80,000 Bavarians and 30,000 Saxons. On the Prussian side nothing was ready. But Prussian resolution failed at the decisive moment, and Austrian moderation made a bridge of gold for the retreating foe. Radowitz, the Foreign Minister of Prussia, resigned, and Manteuffel, his successor, signed at Olmütz a convention for the evacuation of Cassel, which Beust rightly describes as less of a Prussian humiliation than an Austrian weakness. "Perhaps," he says, "it would have been better if war had broken out then. It would at least have been shorter than the war of 1866. If Prussia had been defeated, which would certainly have been the case, she would not have been deprived of a single village. The Emperor Nicholas, then at Warsaw, would have taken care of that. But for twenty or thirty years we should have heard no more of the Federal State with a single head."

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towards us like the assassin in Schiller's ballad, 'Die Bürgschaft.' Rabenhorst cried out in a voice of thunder: 'If you come a step nearer I will shoot you!' whereupon the unfortunate creature sank down in abject terror, exclaiming: 'If you do not trust me, gentlemen, at least give me a boot-jack!' He had really been sent from Königstein, and the despatch he brought was concealed in his boot."

There are some men who can never forgive a benefactor, least of all when his good deeds consist in having spared them when they were at his mercy. This seems to have been the spirit of Prussia after Olmütz. It was now more than ever the determination of Prussian statesmen to exclude Austria from the Confederation, and of Prussian soldiers to raise the army to such a state of efficiency that it would be at least possible to make a stand against Austria when the question of the reorganization of Germany was to be referred from the council chamber to the battlefield. Bismarck, who was the very incarnation of this policy, did not come prominently upon the scene until ten years later. But long before he was Prime Minister of Prussia he was actively at work against Austria. Beust met him for the second time in Frankfort at the house of Count Friedrich Thun. One of Bismarck's sayings on this occasion suggests a curious commentary on his own policy in the Kulturkampf. The conversation turned upon a member of one of the noble families of Westphalia, who was known to be a very zealous Catholic, and Bismarck said to Beust : "Such firm Catholics are the king's best subjects." Beust protests in his Memoirs that he and Bismarck, though frequently opposed to each other in politics were always excellent friends ; but for all that, the memoirs themselves afford evidence of that very personal hostility which their author denies. One cannot wonder that there was at the very least considerable friction and occasional irritation in the relations of these two men. They came into contact and into conflict more than once in the series of negotiations and conferences on the reorganization of the Confederation, which, beginning in 1849, dragged on for some years with no result. There could be no result, for the simple reason that while Austria would have been content to share the headship of the Confederation with Prussia, the Berlin party were determined that at any cost Austria should be forced to withdraw from all share in the politics of the rest of Germany ; and this, although if Arndt's song is really to be the watchword of German unity—

"What is the German Fatherland ?—  
Wherever sounds the German tongue"—

the expulsion of Austria from Germany can only be a prelude to the future dismemberment of the Austrian Empire. A Hohenzollern Empire of Germany, which has several millions of Germans living just outside its borders, clearly does not fully accomplish the idea of German unity which has been kept in the forefront of German politics by Bismarck and his friends since 1866. Beust charges Bismarck with having most persistently worked to bring about a conflict with Austria while he represented Prussia in the Frankfort conferences. These are his words :

An attentive reader of Bismarck's Frankfort reports will look in vain for any serious attempt on his part to come to an understanding with his Austrian colleagues. On the contrary, on April 7, 1852, he rejected a proposal made by Count Thurn with the view of establishing complete equality between the two States as regards their position in Germany. Nor is it sufficiently understood that it was against her interest and her wish that Austria consented to the exclusion of her non-German possessions from the Confederation. We find everywhere that difficulties were raised by the secret hostility which depreciated the advantages of the Austrian alliance, and refused to recognize Austria's right to freedom of action and to the choice of an alliance with another power. On April 26, 1856, Bismarck even asserted that war with Austria was inevitable because it would be useful, as, "according to the policy of Vienna, Germany is too narrow for us both, and Austria is the only State to which we can lose or from which we can gain." This was said eleven years before the event. Men are apt to predict what they desire. Prince Bismarck may now boast of his foresight; he may also boast of having directed the events he predicted the way he wished them to occur, though it was the merest chance that they turned out as they did.

Unfortunately for Austria and the minor States, fortunately for Prussia and for Bismarck's policy, those who directed the policy of the Austrian Empire played into the hands of its enemies by violating at once the constitution of the Germanic Confederation and the public law of Europe in the Danish war of 1864. The safety of States, and especially of great States, is intimately connected with a scrupulous observance on their own part of that law of nations which is, after all, only the moral law applied to the affairs, not of individuals, but of political communities. Small States are less open to the temptation of violating this law—it is so clearly their interest to appeal to its protection. The rulers of great States too often imagine that they can afford to disregard it. Austria took a fatal step when, in defiance of the decree issued by the Diet of the Confederation at Frankfort, she joined Prussia in an illegal enterprise against Denmark—an enterprise from which the more unscrupulous of the two allies reaped all the advantage. Bismarck had found at last the pretext for war for which he had been waiting and working for so many years, and the great crisis of 1866 was the result. But even before 1866 Austria had suffered heavy losses, which prepared the way for her later disasters. The plot against Austria developed rapidly from the moment when Cavour and Napoleon III. raised the Italian question at the Congress of Paris, on the pretext—a pretext they had themselves supplied—that the presence of the Piedmontese contingent in the Crimea gave the King of Sardinia the right to be represented at Paris, and the further right to call the attention of the Congress to the rela-

tions of Italy to Austria and the rest of Europe. But it must be admitted that in Italy, as in Germany, Austria played into her enemies' hands, and by numerous sins of omission and commission prepared the way for her own downfall. There is this much, however, to be said for her, that her conduct throughout, faulty as it was, compares very favourably with that of the arch-conspirators on the other side—Napoleon III. and Count Cavour. Beust was very active in 1859, in the eventful days of the outbreak of the Italian war. He was anxious that Germany as a whole should espouse the cause of Austria, at least to the extent of moving a strong army of observation to the Rhine. He was at Paris just before the war, where in a private interview he urged strongly upon the Emperor the danger of arousing the national spirit of Germany by an attack on Austria. He saw quite clearly that when the Emperor went to war "for an idea," the real motive was the perpetuation of the Napoleonic idea in France, while the liberation of Italy was only the pretext. This opinion was largely shared by statesmen and politicians in all parts of Germany, and although they were slow to take any decisive action, by the time that Solferino had been fought the feeling against France had risen very high in most of the German States, and a further prosecution of the war—above all, an attack upon the Trentino—would have been followed by a declaration of the Diet that it was the duty of the Confederation to give effective support to Austria. This was why Napoleon, notwithstanding his promise to free Italy from the Alps to the Adriatic, halted so suddenly after his great victory, and offered the Emperor Francis Joseph peace on such comparatively moderate terms at Villafranca. The Austrian Emperor was only too glad to bring the conflict to a close. Notwithstanding a long list of defeats from Montebello to Solferino, a considerable army was still in the field; a campaign upon the Rhine might still have more than restored the balance of what had been lost in Italy; but there was the daily increasing danger of a successful insurrection in Hungary, and in her hour of danger Austria, with so many advantages upon her side, had to accept defeat because she had suppressed the liberties of the brave people who had once been her best defence against the foreign foe. Unfortunately for her, she did not take this hard lesson to heart until it had been repeated in the still more disastrous campaign of 1866.

Beust tells, with reference to the Italian revolution, a story which is worth noting here, before pursuing the main thread of our rapid survey of the great changes in progress in Central Europe :

"I cannot [he says] take leave of the year 1860 without recording a not uninteresting episode which was closely connected with the

events in Italy. At the moment when the Sardinian troops were preparing to invade the Papal States, and to support the Unionist movement, Count Seebach, the Saxon envoy, who was on leave, suddenly came to me on a secret mission from the Emperor Napoleon, who took this means of hinting at Vienna, through me, that if Austria wished to oppose the invasion of the Papal territories, he, the Emperor, would not intervene, provided no change was made as to the cession of Lombardy. Napoleon III. was very fond of making those disclosures through indirect channels. He did not observe his constitutional oath very strictly, but he was almost always to be depended upon in negotiations, and Vienna might have obtained guarantees. It might have been a great opportunity, for the article of the treaty of Zurich, relative to the States belonging to the younger branches of the House of Hapsburg [*i.e.*, the Italian Duchies] was still in full force, and in the Venetian provinces affairs were assuming a different aspect."

No action was taken by Austria upon this hint. Beust's remark, that Napoleon III. was "almost always to be depended upon in negotiations," reminds one of the protest made by Mr. Gilbert's hero, that although he could not say he had always told the truth, he had "hardly ever" done otherwise. Austria may have thought that this was one of the occasions on which Napoleon was not to be depended upon, and the probability is that he was playing a double game. All through the year 1860 he was trying to get and keep control of the Unionist movement in Italy, to be able to say to it, Thus far, and no farther. The continued occupation of Rome, and the demonstration of the French fleet before Gaetor, were part of this policy, and it would have been quite in accordance with it to use Austria in an underhand way as a counterpoise to Piedmont in Italy. Wisely or unwisely, Austria declined to be so used.

In the autumn of 1862 Bismarck became Prime Minister of Prussia. In the previous summer, while he was still ambassador at Paris, Beust had met him there, and in his Memoirs he asserts that their intercourse led to a certain understanding between them, although their "views on German affairs did not always coincide." This statement is part of the curious tendency shown throughout the work to minimize Beust's continual disagreement with Bismarck. It looks as if the Saxon Minister, unable to deny that his great antagonist had had the best of the struggle between them, was anxious at least to show that on his side the struggle was not one in which his feelings and ambitions were very deeply involved. Although he was only the Minister of a minor State, his activity in the politics of the Confederation had won for him so prominent a position that Bismarck, on the principle of making no unnecessary enemies, was evidently anxious to conciliate him, and this, it would seem, was the secret of their friendly intercourse at Paris in 1862. However this may be, Bismarck was

no sooner in office at Berlin than he wrote Beust a long letter, in which he told him very frankly what were his plans as to home politics, while denying that he was going to launch out into any adventures abroad. Thus, as to home affairs, Bismarck wrote :

" My most urgent duty is to preserve and to strengthen the power of the Crown against the increasing influence of the representative Chamber and of the Parliamentary officials. I consider that this task can be accomplished without departing from the positive injunctions of the Constitution. I shall endeavour to spare as much as possible the feelings of sticklers for constitutional forms, and to return as soon as possible to constitutional courses—always bearing in mind, however, that our constitutional oath places ' fidelity to the king ' first."

No one can deny that, in strengthening the power of the Crown and curbing that of the Prussian Parliament, Bismarck realized his programme to the full. His respect for constitutional forms did not prevent him from levying taxes for four years in defiance of the hostile votes of the Chamber. The success of Sadowa won him more than an indemnity from the Parliament of 1867, and until the Kulturkampf brought the Centre into the field he never again had to feel what a Parliamentary opposition can do. On his foreign policy Bismarck was less explicit in his letter to Beust, and the latter makes a very poor attempt to show that on this occasion Bismarck was not trifling with him. The Prussian used a little judicious flattery, and this in a direction in which Beust's self-esteem laid him particularly open to attack :

Considering [he wrote] *your knowledge of men and affairs*, I need not assure you that I stand quite aloof from all adventurous plans that have been attributed to me by political novices, and by opponents in the press. The untruthful, distorted, and disconnected reports of supposed sayings of mine, by which people have endeavoured to bring my judgment into discredit, must have been appreciated by you with a full knowledge of the real facts.

Bismarck followed up this letter by inviting Beust to a conference at Berlin, but the Saxon Minister, apparently afraid of compromising himself with Austria, declined the invitation for some time. He was always anxious to stand well with Vienna ; his great mistake was that he was also anxious to stand well with St. Petersburg, and held it to be the interest of Austria to act in harmony with Russia. This comes out in his remarks on the Crimean war, and on the Polish insurrection of 1863—matters into which it is not possible to enter here. Later on, when he was Minister at Vienna, he gave a fatal turn to the policy of Austria in the question of the Servian fortresses, and to this act of his it is in great degree owing that Russia has since then

established herself firmly on the Lower Danube, and that it is easy to foresee the time when the Austrian Empire, pressed upon by a Hohenzollern Germany on the north, and a further extension of Russian tributary States upon the south, will be as it were between hammer and anvil.

But we must go back to the days before 1866. Beust was persuaded to exchange a visit with Bismarck ; he passed a few pleasant days at Berlin, discussing chiefly the French treaties of commerce with Germany, and a little later Bismarck returned the visit at Dresden. But next year, when Beust and his master, the King of Saxony, took up warmly a project proposed by Austria, for the re-organization of the Confederation (a project which would have put Bismarck's own schemes out of the region of practical politics), Beust was very plainly informed that his Prussian friend was disappointed in him, and did not mean to make any further use of him. After this the breach widened very rapidly.

Beust was at London in 1864 as the representative of the Confederation at the Congress on the affairs of Denmark. The only practical result of the Congress was that Prussia and Austria felt thoroughly assured that neither France nor England would stand between them and Denmark. Beust asserts very strongly that England's non-intervention was in great part due to the personal efforts of the Queen, who wished at all costs to avoid a conflict with Germany, and acted in this matter in pursuance of what she felt would have been Prince Albert's opinion on the then existing position of affairs. The victory in Denmark was a very sorry one for Austria, for whom it was the prelude of disasters in the near future : for Prussia it was the first of the three successful campaigns that made the Hohenzollern Empire. Düppel, Sadowa, Sedan, were the stepping-stones to the proclamation of the Kaiser William in the great hall of Versailles on the New Year's Day of 1871.

Beust, in that part of his Memoirs which deals with the Danish war, relates a characteristic anecdote of Bismarck. After pointing out that the Danes would have acted wisely if they had not fought in 1864, but instead of this evacuated Schleswig after making a solemn protest and appealing for protection to the European Powers, and after showing that such a policy would have placed Bismarck in a very difficult position, he tells how he hinted as much to the great Chancellor when he met him at Gastein in 1865. They were talking of the late war, when Beust said : " You are forgetting what might have happened had the Danes refused to fight." " I had taken precautions against that," was Bismarck's reply. " I had made the Cabinet of Copenhagen believe that England had threatened us with active intervention if hostilities should be begun ; although, as a matter of fact, England

had done nothing of the kind." Was there ever a more cynical avowal. Armed resistance on the part of Denmark was necessary to the successful execution of Bismarck's plans, and he encourages that resistance by a deliberate falsehood, and then sends the Prussian army to overpower the hopeless and useless resistance which his own deceitful message has encouraged. Then a year after he talks coolly to Beust of the success of a scheme which began in lying and ended in wholesale murder, for these are the plain, straightforward words in which to describe such policy. But notwithstanding this and such like revelations, Bismarck is, and is likely to remain, the ideal statesman and the hero of not a few Englishmen ; unless, indeed, his abandonment of the Kulturkampf tends to diminish his popularity.

Thanks to General La Marmora's revelations, we know how Bismarck, having got Austria to act with Prussia against Denmark, set to work to force his ally to leave Prussia in sole possession of the Duchies, and did this in such a way as to compel that ally to become an armed enemy. Backed by the Italian alliance, Prussia was in a position to make the long-desired attack upon Austria, and win for herself the long-coveted position of the chief Power in Germany. Govone, La Marmora's agent at Berlin during the negotiations that preceded the war, assured his chief that Bismarck experienced the utmost difficulty in persuading King William to consent to a rupture with Austria. This is confirmed by Beust, and the passage is worth noting now when so many people look on the pacific dispositions of the old Emperor of Germany as a tolerably safe guarantee for the continuance of peace in Western Europe. Speaking of 1866, Beust says :

Not one of the German Governments wished for war. Austria did not wish it. The Emperor William assured me at Gastein, in 1871, that he only decided on war after severe struggles and with a heavy heart ; but I needed not this assurance to be convinced of the fact. I leave the question as to whether the same could be said of his Ministry for others to answer. Prince Bismarck certainly cannot be accused of having taken up the idea of war as a sudden inspiration. I was assured by one of his Petersburg colleagues that when he was ambassador in the Russian capital, shortly before he entered the Ministry, he spoke of war with Austria as part of his programme. But I do not attach excessive weight to this or any other oral tradition. Written statements, however, cannot be repudiated, and we often see in his Frankfort reports not only the probability, but the certainty of this war maintained and proved.

When the war broke out the Saxon army fell back into Bohemia, to act with the Austrians under Marshal Benedek. Saxony was rapidly occupied by the Prussians, and Beust being absent with the king in Austrian territory, his beautiful villa near

Dresden was sacked by a Prussian regiment. He notes, somewhat maliciously, that although his house fell into the hands of the insurgents during the *émeute* of 1849, he found on his return to it everything uninjured, with the exception of a *portière*, which had been torn. The Prussian regulars in this instance behaved worse than the Dresden mob. The first days of the war were full of hope. Good news came of the victory of Custoza; and at the Austrian headquarters at Prague every one was talking of a great success to be won in Bohemia, and followed up by the victorious entry of the Austrian and Saxon armies into Dresden. As the Prussian armies came in contact with the advanced forces of the allies, Benedek asked the King of Saxony to remove his Court from the theatre of war to Vienna. Accordingly, a few hours before the decisive engagement Beust and his master, the king, set out on their journey to the capital. The first part of the journey was made in carriages, as railway communication was interrupted. The next day was the day of Sadowa. Beust heard the news of the battle in very striking circumstances:—

We arrived in the afternoon at Brünn. . . . The news from the battlefield was not yet decisive, and we continued our journey to Vienna by rail, not without hope. At 2 a.m. we arrived in the Austrian capital. The station was brilliantly lighted and lavishly decorated with flowers; and we saw the Emperor on the platform in full military attire, but with a face as white as his uniform. He greeted the King with the appalling news of the lost battle.

Sadowa, amongst its other results, made Beust a Minister of the Austrian Empire. But even before he accepted the invitation of the Emperor Francis Joseph to enter the service of Austria, of which he had already deserved well on many occasions, Beust was able to take part in the negotiations and debates which ended in the armistice of Nikolsburg and the treaty of Prague. Early in the morning after his arrival at Vienna he was summoned to a council at Schönbrunn, at which the Emperor presided, and King John of Saxony was present. It was at this council that it was decided to cede Venetia to France. A few days after, he was sent on a special mission to Paris to endeavour to secure a French intervention on behalf of Austria. He received no written instructions; everything was left to his discretion; and the Austrian Emperor gave him an autograph letter as his credentials. The secret of the mission was so well kept that the papers said that "Beust had gone to amuse himself in Paris." He had an interview with the Emperor, but Napoleon was ill and in bad spirits. "I am not ready for war," he said. Beust tried to rouse him to a more enterprising state of mind, and used words which must have seemed prophetic to the fallen Emperor four years later, if he remembered them. "Sire," he said, "I am not asking

you to make war ; after all, I am so German as not even to wish for it ; but it is not in question. You have a hundred thousand men at Châlons ; move them to the frontier, and send a squadron to the North Sea : that is all that is necessary. The line of operations of the Prussian army is so extended that such action on your part must bring it to a halt. At Vienna, at Munich, and at Stuttgart men will take heart again, and Germany will accept your mediation with gratitude. If you do not do this, you will perhaps be yourself at war with Prussia in five or six years, and I promise you that *then all Germany will march with her.*" All that Beust could obtain was that France was to claim a share in the peace negotiations on account of the cession of Venetia, and that the Emperor was to use his good officers in favour of the integrity of Saxon territory. He returned to Vienna, where men were fast losing heart at the news of the further advance of the Prussians, and of symptoms of insurrection in Hungary. Klapka was already with the Prussian army, and a Hungarian legion was being formed under his command. Austria united with Hungary might have continued the struggle, but with Hungary ready to rise against her, Austria had to accept whatever terms Prussia might offer. Vienna had delayed too long the settlement with Pesth, and at last, in the hour of danger, it became almost a capitulation.

With the peace of Nikolsburg the first and longest period of Beust's political career came to a close. The King of Saxony had named him his representation for the peace negotiations, but Bismarck bluntly refused to treat with him, and that he might be no hindrance to the new agreement between Saxony and Prussia, Beust resigned the position of Minister, which he had held since 1849. This resignation opened to Beust a new career, and though a brief, a brilliant one. Within a few weeks he was called to direct the new policy of Austria. He had ceased to be the Minister of King John of Saxony ; he became the Minister and confidential adviser of the Emperor Francis Joseph.

Forced by two unsuccessful wars to withdraw from Italy and from Germany, Austria, under the direction of Count von Beust, set to work to adjust herself to the new state of things, and to reorganize her empire on a new basis. It is impossible to approve of much of the policy of Beust. His high-handed abrogation of the Concordat was both unjust and unstatesman-like. It would have been no difficult matter for him to secure by friendly negotiation a modification of its provisions. He chose instead to court the favour of the Austrian Liberals by simply denouncing it, forgetting, in his anti-Papal zeal, that a concordat is a treaty, and that the arbitrary violation of treaties is a proof, not of statesmanship, but the reverse of it. Again, in

his foreign policy he was far too subservient to Russia. Austria has suffered in the past, and is destined to suffer in the future, for her complicity with Russia in the partition of neighbouring States; and Beust committed the old mistake of supposing that it was better to claim a share of the spoil from the aggressor, than to resist his aggression in the Balkan peninsula. Hence his policy of supporting Servia in the question of the evacuation of Belgrade, the first step in the downward course which has involved Austria in her present difficulties in the East. But the chief act of Beust's Austrian Ministry—the act by which he will be longest remembered—was in the highest degree wise and statesmanlike. He it was who inaugurated the dual system of the Austro-Hungarian monarchy, gave self-government to Hungary, and brought to an end the long conflict between the two chief portions of the Empire. It would be a mistake to suppose that Beust could claim, or ever did claim, the whole merit of this transaction. The Hungarian National party had already so far advanced the question that all that was wanted was an Austrian Minister who would deal with them in a conciliatory spirit, and accept as a basis of negotiation the justice of the Hungarian claim for Home Rule. Beust accepted this position. Much of what he has to tell in his Memoirs of the arrangement made with Hungary in 1867 is not very intelligible, unless one supplements it from other sources, and keeps in mind what the Magyar Nationalists had been doing while he was still Minister of Saxony. After the experience of 1859, Austria made an attempt to settle the Hungarian question by establishing a Parliament or Reichsrath at Vienna, with a certain control over the finances and with a responsible Ministry. It was hoped that so large a concession to the Liberals would have satisfied the Hungarians; that as soon as they had a share in the government of their own country, as well as that of the whole Empire, they would moderate their demands to a considerable extent. But although Transylvania—that is, the non-Magyar portion of Hungary—sent deputies to the Reichsrath, the Magyars refused to recognize in any way the Parliament of Vienna. The speech of the Hungarian National leader, Francis Deak, delivered on May 13, 1861, is worth quoting here—it summed up so well the position assumed by the Hungarians:\*

In former times [he said] the disputes between the Sovereign and the Hungarian nation arose from two parties giving different interpretations to the laws, the validity of which was recognized by both. At

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\* I take this speech from my friend, Dr. Eugene Oswald's, little work, "Austria in 1868," which contains a very useful sketch of the history of the Hungarian question up to that date.

present the Austrian Government is trying to force Hungary to accept a constitution as a boon, in lieu of those fundamental laws to which she is so warmly attached. On the side of Hungary is right and justice; on the other side is physical force. During the last twelve years we have suffered grievous wrongs. The constitution which we inherited from our forefathers was taken from us; we were governed in an absolute way, and patriotism was considered crime. Suddenly his Majesty resolved "to enter the path of constitutionalism," and the diploma of October 20, 1860, appeared. That document encroaches on our constitutional independence, inasmuch as it transfers to a foreign assembly (the Reichsrath) the right to grant the supplies of money and men, and makes the Hungarian Government dependent on the Austrian, which is not responsible for its acts. If Hungary accepted the diploma of October 20 she would be an Austrian province. The policy of the Austrian Government is a direct violation of the pragmatic sanction, the fundamental treaty which the Hungarian nation in 1723 concluded with the reigning family. We must therefore solemnly declare that we insist on the restoration of our constitutional independence and self-government, which we consider the fundamental principles of our national existence. We can on no account allow the right to vote the supplies of money and men to be taken from us. We will not make laws for other countries, and we will share our right to legislate for Hungary with no one but the king [*i.e.*, the Emperor Francis Joseph]. . . . We will neither send deputies to the present Reichsrath, nor take any share in the representation of the empire.

Count Andrassy, afterwards Prime Minister of Austria, but then one of the Hungarian leaders, spoke in the same sense:

The nationalities inhabiting the empire [he said] must choose between centralization and *federation*. Civilization and absolutism must necessarily go hand in hand. If the principle of *duality* is recognized, and Austria has a free constitution, a union between the empire and Hungary may easily be effected. The Hungarian nation refuses to have anything to do with the lately promulgated constitution. The position of Austria as a great Power is better secured by the principles of *duality* than by the principles of *unity*.\*

An address to Vienna was followed by a promise on the part of the Emperor of an extension of local self-government in Hungary, but the administrative and legislative union with Austria and the Parliament at Vienna was to be maintained. The Hungarians indignantly rejected this half-hearted concession, and then came a period of military coercion on the one hand and organized passive resistance upon the other. No deputies were sent to the Reichsrath, and the payment of taxes was refused, and could only be enforced by General Pálffy quartering his troops upon the

\* "Austria in 1868," p. 14.

people. There was no insurrection—a rising would have been fatal to the national movement—but this passive resistance continued until the events of 1866, and the accession to power of Beust had introduced a new order of ideas at Vienna. But Beust would not have been able to accomplish what he did if the change had not already begun before he became Chancellor of Austria. In the autumn of 1865, when the war-cloud was gathering fast on the northern and southern borders of the empire, Vienna had opened negotiations with Pesth, which broke down on the question of a separate ministry for Hungary. They had this useful result, however, that the Austrian Government conceded the justice of most of the Hungarian claims. Then came Sadowa, and Austria's weakness proved to be Hungary's opportunity. In the anxious days when the Prussian armies were advancing on Vienna, and Austria was appealing in vain for aid to France, Francis Deak published a manifesto which was all but an ultimatum :

A considerable part of the country [it said] is inundated by hostile armies ; only Hungary is yet free from invasion. But Hungary is dead. If not everything, at least much can be done with Hungary. Still, by herself she can do nothing, for her hands are bound. What alone can set them free and breathe life into her is a parliamentary government. If Hungary can yet do anything for the monarchy, it will be when her liberty of action is restored to her, and when a Government is placed over her which is the emanation of the national will, and in which the nation finds a guarantee of its territory and its rights.

It was clear that if the war continued, Hungary could, by merely taking Deak's advice, and remaining inactive, work the ruin of Austria. The day after the manifesto was published the Imperial Government resumed negotiations with the Hungarian leaders. These negotiations at first made little progress. When Beust accepted office at Vienna, it was at the outset as Foreign Minister under Count Belcredi. Before long Belcredi retired, and the late Saxon Premier became Prime Minister of Austria. From the first Beust represented the party of liberal concession, and it was, thanks to him, that the *Ausgleich* or "understanding" with Hungary was successfully arranged. It was not all his work, but without Beust the arrangement would have had to wait a long time for completion. He was aided in his task by the fact that the public opinion of the empire had been won to the side of Hungary. "An agreement with Hungary, even a disadvantageous agreement, is, in short, the lesser evil," said the *Neue Freie Presse* of Vienna. In the Styrian Diet, Kaiserfeld put forward the argument that without concession to Hungary parliamentary government would be impossible, an argument the full

force of which recent events help us to appreciate. "Peace with Hungary," he said, "means the existence or the non-existence of Austria, and that peace must be concluded without delay. An extended Reichsrath [*i.e.* one Parliament for the whole empire] would produce only national, not political parties, thus making parliamentary government impossible. Only a constitutional Austria is possible."

In December 1866 Beust had gone to Pesth for a few hours, to have an interview with Deak and the other Hungarian leaders. Until then the negotiations had been carried on by letter. This interview had important results, for it led Beust to make a proposal to the Emperor on his return to Vienna, which considerably facilitated the subsequent agreement. He tells us how—

"the next morning, immediately after my return, I was summoned to the Emperor. His Majesty was impatient to know my impressions. I took the liberty of expressing them in the following words: 'I have witnessed,' said I to the Emperor, 'since I have been here, nothing but a useless exchange of rescripts sent to Pesth, and of resolutions and addresses sent here in return. This will not advance matters. Your Majesty has expressed the determination to appoint a Hungarian Ministry under certain conditions, and you have already chosen the men who are to form that Ministry. It would be well if your Majesty were to summon them to Vienna, in order that we might negotiate with them here.' The Emperor took my advice, and Andrassy, Eötvös, and Lonyay, were invited to come to Vienna. This was the beginning—I may say the decisive beginning—of the establishment of the agreement, and in 1867 and 1868 Andrassy said to me more than once: 'If it had not been for you, the agreement would never have been completed.'

The negotiations resulted in the concession of an Hungarian Parliament at Pesth for Hungarian affairs, with a responsible Ministry, Imperial affairs being referred to the delegations—committees of delegates from the Parliaments of Pesth and Vienna, these committees meeting alternately in either capital; so that even where the common interests of the Empire were under discussion the national feeling of Hungary received full satisfaction. On June 8, 1867, the peace between Hungary and Austria was sealed by the solemn coronation of Francis Joseph with the crown of St. Stephen in the cathedral of Buda. It was a day of triumph for Beust. As he rode across the bridge from Buda to Pesth in front of the newly crowned Emperor-king, the shout of *Eljen Beust* rose up from the crowd so vociferously that he found it difficult to restrain his spirited horse. As he entered the square another cheer broke out, the signal being given by Deak. He feared that the Emperor might not take these plaudits in good part, but after the ceremony was over, Francis Joseph sent for

him, and said, "No Austrian Minister has ever been received in Hungary as you have been. I am heartily delighted."

The question of the success or failure of the system inaugurated by Deak in Hungary has been a good deal discussed within the last twelve months in connection with its bearing on the Irish Home Rule question. In nearly all these discussions one very important point has been left out of consideration. Those who wish to show that Home Rule in Hungary has been a failure allege that in 1867 the Magyars were given a power and influence in the empire out of all proportion to their numbers, while they undertook less than their due share of military and financial burdens; that they were placed in a position to overrule and outweigh the German element in the empire, and that the consciousness of this had tended to keep alive old national rivalries, and may yet lead to a disruption of the empire. I shall not discuss here the question as to how far this is a correct statement of facts. I admit at once that the agreement of 1867 gave Hungary more than her due share of privileges in comparison with Austria and the Cis-Leithian monarchy. But what does this prove? Not that Beust was mistaken in giving self-government to the Magyars in 1867, but that those erred, and erred deeply, who, in the years before 1866, resisted the moderate demands of Deak and the Hungarian Nationalists. Beust, in his *Memoirs*, points out that the demands of the Hungarians increased considerably in extent after the crisis of 1866. The case of Hungary is one more proof that true statesmanship lies in timely concession, not in the wretched policy which begins with coercion in the day of fancied security, and ends with surrender at discretion in the hour of peril and disaster.

Baron Henry de Worms, the translator of the English version of Beust's *Memoirs* has prefixed to them a long introduction, abounding in interesting reminiscences of Beust's career, and containing some of his letters. A considerable portion of this introduction is devoted to the comparison of Austro-Hungarian dualism with Irish Home Rule: Baron de Worms insisting that there is no real analogy between the two cases, and quoting, in confirmation of this view, a letter written by Beust not long before his death. But the Baron's argument is vitiated by the fact that he takes Home Rule to mean Mr. Gladstone's Bill of 1886. He seems to think he has scored a great logical success when he points out that in Mr. Gladstone's scheme there was nothing to correspond to the "Delegations" in Beust's system. To this we can only reply that in all comparisons between the case of Hungary and that of Ireland it is the principle, and not this or that detail, that is important, and that the Home Rule Bill of 1886 is now as much ancient history as the schemes of

Hungarian autonomy that were discussed at Vienna and Pesth in 1865. But the principle remains. Again, Baron de Worms insists that the dual system was adopted to *unite*, not to divide, Austro-Hungary. But this is exactly what the advocates of Home Rule say in its favour. Baron de Worms is simply misrepresenting the plain facts of the case when he says :

Count Beust wisely sought, by introducing the dual system, and by making Count Andrassy president of the Hungarian Ministry, to avert the dismemberment of the empire whose destinies he had been called by the emperor to control. Where, again, is the parallel between such a state of things and the necessity for a Parliament on College Green ? With regard to the latter, we have the oft-repeated assurance of those chosen to represent and speak for Ireland, that it is the thin end of the wedge which it is hoped will permanently cleave the two countries.\*

Now the oft-repeated assurances of those chosen to represent and speak for Ireland are precisely to the contrary effect. Count Beust's letter, quoted by his editor, shows that, however well acquainted he may have been with continental politics, he knew nothing of Ireland. His chief argument only goes to prove that in politics as in morals no two cases are ever precisely and exactly parallel. But all these discussions over details count for little in the face of the broad fact, that, notwithstanding her defeats, the position of Austria is now infinitely stronger than it was twenty years ago, and that Hungary which was a source of weakness to her in 1859, and again in 1866, would be her best defence at the present moment, if the Eastern crisis were to lead to a Russian war. This very year has seen the Magyar Parliament at Pesth voting, without one word of discussion, the credits demanded for the defence of the empire. Austrian statesmen are so satisfied that the principle of decentralization is the only sound one, that the policy of Count Taafe, the present Prime Minister of Austria, is distinctly one of recognizing and developing to the full the local liberties of the various nationalities that compose the empire.

The settlement of the Hungarian question was the culminating point of Beust's career, and remains the most enduring monument of the days when he directed the fortunes of Austria. Other portions of his policy showed, as has been already remarked, but little statesmanship, and above all his conduct towards the Holy See arrayed against him the Catholic and Conservative party at Vienna. At length a combination of parties forced him to resign. His withdrawal from office was alleged to be caused by ill-health, but the real fact was that he found he was becoming unpopular in Austria. His resignation was followed

\* Introduction, p. xlvi.

by his appointment as Ambassador in London, whence he was transferred in 1878 to Paris. Failing health at last induced him to retire from official and diplomatic life, and he devoted his last months, at the château of Altenberg, to the composition of his Memoirs.

One of the most interesting chapters in the whole work is that which records his conversations with Bismarck when the Emperors met at Gastein in 1871. The German Chancellor spoke freely to his old rival of both past and future. One curious story is well worth quoting, though it would be more satisfactory if we had the name of Beust's well-informed friend :

If I received highly interesting revelations from Prince Bismarck as to the past, his hints about the future were not less so. He foretold the subsequent conflict with the Church of Rome in all its details; which gave me occasion to say that this would please me in one respect, as I should then no longer hear people remark that the Catholics were better treated in Prussia than in Austria. I warned him, however, that although for the time being Austria was not governed by a strictly Catholic Ministry, she might be at a later period, and that she would then be a strong support to the Catholic opposition in Germany. Bismarck then said : "They have treated us villainously in Rome"—which was another favourite expression of his. Some months later, when I was no longer in Vienna, a person who was thoroughly conversant with politics told me what this so-called villainous conduct was. Bismarck was very well disposed to the Catholic Church immediately after the war. He expected to find a support in the Roman Curia, and had proposed to the Pope to remove his residence from Rome to Cologne. If the Pope had had to leave Rome, as at that time appeared highly probable, there was much that was attractive in this idea. An old archiepiscopal See, a famous cathedral, a Catholic population, an intensely Catholic aristocracy—all these were to be found at Cologne; and the garrison was to consist chiefly of Catholic soldiers. Cardinal [then Bishop] Ledochowski was intrusted with the negotiation; but after a time it took such a shape that Bismarck thought the Curia was trying to mystify him. This was the "villainous conduct" of which he complained.

It would be interesting to know if any confirmation can be found for this story of the Cologne project. May we hope that Bismarck will some day give us his own account of it, and with it leave his "Memoirs" to the world. Probably, unlike Beust, he will be in harness to the end, and so will have no leisure for such an undertaking. Meanwhile in the official edition of his speeches we have the German Chancellor's own account of his policy, and defence of his conduct. These, however, lack the element of anecdote and inner history of events which give their chief interest to a statesman's Memoirs.

Beust's story of his own career is a work which cannot fail to

find a wide circle of readers, and to secure a permanent place in the class of literature to which it belongs. In preparing the English version Baron de Worms has very wisely omitted much that would only be of interest to German readers. His Introduction supplies ample compensation for what has been omitted. Students of foreign politics will find in the two volumes a rich mine of valuable information and suggestive comment; while those who look chiefly for interesting and amusing anecdotes in a volume of Memoirs will not be disappointed with those that Beust has woven into his narrative of a life passed in half the capitals of Europe, in the society of distinguished men, and in the midst of great events.

A. HILLIARD ATTERIDGE.

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#### ART. VIII.—THE WORK OF THE LAITY.

1. *Report of the Society of St. Vincent de Paul in England for the year 1886. Tenth Report and Manual of the Patronage Work, 1886.* London : 31, Queen Square, Bloomsbury, W.C.
2. *Report of the General Conference of the Young Men's Societies of Great Britain, held at Dumfries 1st and 2nd August, 1886.* Liverpool : 50 Manchester Street.
3. *The Love and Service of Christ in His Poor.* By the BISHOP OF SALFORD. London : 27 Wellington Street, W.C.
4. *The Loss of our Children.* By the Same.
5. *The Leakage of the Catholic Church in England.* Four Essays reprinted from the *Month.* London : Catholic Truth Society, 18 West Square, S.E.
6. *The Catholic Church and the People.* London : Kegan Paul, Trench & Co., 1 Paternoster Square.
7. *Our Losses.* By the Rev. G. BAMPFIELD. London : Burns & Oates.

WITHIN the last two years, a remarkable change has come over Catholic public opinion in this country. Until then, it was usual to assume that our progress was as satisfactory in spiritual as it certainly has been in temporal affairs. Priests and schools were multiplying; religious communities were increasing at a rate little short of marvellous; new and splendid

churches arose on every side. The machinery of religion seemed to be approaching perfection. The position of Catholics in the world left nothing to be desired, as was conclusively shown by a pamphlet entitled "We Catholics," which, as rumour has it, found favour in the most exalted circles.

There were, indeed, those who estimated this external progress at its true value. The overworked priest of the courts and alleys of our large towns, as well as the pastor of a handful of souls in remote country districts, knew too well the other side of the brilliant picture held up to our admiration. Thoughtful laymen, too, who mixed with the poor and knew their wants, could not fail to see a falling away from within, for which the increase from without could not compensate; and this view found expression in a pamphlet, entitled "The Catholic Church and the People," the authorship of which has not been revealed.\* Though issued hardly more than two years since, it appeared before its time. The truths it enforced were unpalatable, and they were presented somewhat strongly; the paper was ignored by the Catholic press, and is hardly known among Catholics. The author must, however, feel more than justified in the line he adopted, when he reads, in language hardly less forcible than his own, the similar complaints which have now been admitted into the most respectable and influential of our Catholic papers and reviews.

In July, 1885, a paper by Mr. Edward Lucas appeared in the *Month*, on "The Conversion of England," which is reprinted in the volume on "The Leakage," mentioned at the head of this article. This seemed likely to share the fate of the pamphlet just mentioned, as the Catholic weekly press, which devoted columns to "We Catholics," entirely boycotted the less satisfactory view of our position represented by Mr. Lucas. But an important ally was at hand. I have already said that the real state of affairs was not hidden from the clergy. In the same year, the Bishop of Salford appointed a board of enquiry to investigate the condition of Catholics in Manchester and Salford. The result of this showed that in these two towns alone (which are for all practical purposes one) there were "10,546 children needing different degrees of special care, if we are to save them to the Church and to the Kingdom of Heaven."† An anonymous pamphlet and a Catholic layman could be safely ignored by our newspapers; but the utterances of a Bishop could not be thus suppressed. The *Tablet* and the *Weekly Register* vied with each other in their expressions of horror at the state of things revealed, and in the warmth of their appeals to Catholics

\* I have lately learned that in more than one quarter this pamphlet is attributed to me. I did not write it, nor do I know the author.

† "Loss of our Children," p. 33.

to come forward and help to stay the leak. This affords gratifying evidence of the importance which rightly attaches to the utterances of a leader in the Church.

The cue having been given, and the discussion of the matter having thus received episcopal sanction, there has been no lack of interest or suggestion. It is noteworthy that no one has denied the facts on which the agitation regarding the "leakage" is based ; and that both priests and laymen are combining to remedy the evil. Our reviews and papers have published a series of articles and letters, some being mere talk, others containing practical suggestions ; conferences of priests and laymen have been held, at which certain recommendations were put forward ; a well-known priest has expressed his views in a noteworthy pamphlet ; and four of the papers which have been contributed to the *Month* now appear in a separate volume. It is something that we have not been deterred in our desire to face the difficulty by the knowledge that this open confession of our shortcomings would give (as it has given) occasion to the enemies of the Church to blaspheme ; but we can afford to despise the sneers of the *Church Times* if we are fully set upon remedying what is unsatisfactory in the existing state of affairs.

It is of course certain that this work must rest mainly with the clergy. They, under God, are the shepherds of the flock ; and no work can prosper, or, indeed, can be undertaken, without their approval and sanction. But it is easily demonstrable that the clergy alone are unable to cope with the evils which at present exist. To suppose otherwise would be to imply that our clergy have been hitherto neglecting their duty—a conclusion from which we should all of us very properly shrink. But if, with an active body of clergy, more than 10,000 children in one large town are in imminent danger, it is manifest that some other means of reaching the people must be found. What the clergy cannot do, the laity can, to some extent, supply.

It is most important that I should, at the outset, endeavour to guard against any misunderstanding on this point. Two priests of position and ability have put their views on this "leakage" question on record. Provost Wenham simply ignores the laity ; Father Bampfield thinks their main duty is to vote supplies. In saying this I do not mean to convey the slightest reflection upon these two able men ; on the contrary, I honour them for having treated the matter from the standpoint of "what can *I* do," rather than, as too often happens in like cases, from that of "what can *they* do." But, just as the clergy have a right to address their brother priests and point out to them lines on which they may work, so a layman may not improperly put forth suggestions for the benefit of his brother Catholics. Anything like interference with

priestly duties would of course be as intolerable to the clergy as it would be repugnant to a layman of ordinary intelligence. The layman may be to the priest much what St. John Baptist was to Our Lord. He can "prepare the way and make straight his paths;" he may even preach in the desert and exhort to penance; but all will be with the knowledge that "there cometh after me one mightier than I, the latchet of whose shoes I am not worthy to stoop down and loose." In this sense, and in this sense only, can the layman do his part in the great work of saving souls.

The field of lay work is, indeed, quite distinct from that of the clergy; but it seems to me certain, even if we had no other evidence than the figures quoted for Manchester, that it needs assiduous cultivation. And the Bishop of Salford evidently sees this; for the "safeguards and remedies" which he proposes are:—

1. The formation of district or vigilance committees in the missions, to help in bringing every Catholic child to a Catholic school, to take in hand all cases requiring care and attention.
2. The establishment of Catholic homes for destitute children, night shelters, refuges, and industrial or certified schools.
3. The creation of organizations or societies for the benefit and protection of boys and girls after they leave the workhouse or other schools for service.
4. A well-considered system of emigration for Catholic children.
5. Greater encouragement to be given in public elementary schools and elsewhere to temperance and habits of thrift; greater insistence upon the proper reception of the sacrament of marriage; the discouragement of mixed marriages as most dangerous and pernicious; systematic co-operation on the part of confraternities and other parochial societies, such as St. Vincent of Paul's, in visiting the homes of children exposed to danger, getting them to Catholic schools, instructing and interesting them *after* they have left school by means of amusements, of cheap Catholic literature and by friendly intercourse and sympathy.\*

With hardly an exception, all these works are matters for the laity at least as much as the clergy, and many of them must depend mainly upon the former. Our priests are over-worked; their spiritual duties alone fully occupy their time; house-to-house visitation, in large missions, is simply impossible. To expect them to add to their work such serving of tables as is indicated in many of the remedies proposed above, is to expect an impossibility. All these things need doing; but without lay help they cannot be done.

At the present time there is great need for Catholics to show themselves fully alive to the social needs of the people, and to avail

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\* "Loss of our Children," pp. 35-40.

themselves of all the aids to civilization which are so abundantly placed at our disposal on every side. I am sorry to occupy space by saying that I do not confound civilization with religion ; but it is so important to guard against misunderstanding that protests of this kind are perhaps needful. Take such various works as the improving the dwellings of the poor, the bringing of art to the people, the establishment of recreative evening classes, the providing amusement of various kinds for different grades of folk, the formation of libraries, the establishment of friendly societies and penny banks, the advancement of higher education, the formation of choral societies, the direction of sewing-classes. Every one of these is useful, not only from a social but from a religious standpoint ; but how are the clergy to find time for them ? "In my young days," said an old priest recently, "it was thought that a priest had done his duty when he had started his school, but now they want a theatre as well!" Now the priests cannot supply this. "Our business is not to teach people to admire art, but to save their souls," said another priest lately. This of course is true ; and if it is a choice between the two, art must go to the wall. Yet we are proud to remember that the Church of old days was not only the teacher of religion, but the mistress of art as well ; a fact to which our very Board Schools testify by the pictures on their walls.\*

A few years back a book called "John Brown, Working-man," deservedly attracted some attention. Books of this sort appear so rapidly that there is hardly time to read them, much less to think over them ; and yet they often contain, as this does, much food for reflection. In this the Catholic character—who is no very good specimen of his creed—says, in reply to the statement that "the Catholic clergy understand us better somehow"—

"I don't know that, John. They visit us oftener, I know, and the convents are very good for the poor, but sure the Sisters care nothing for us ourselves. They've got their eyes fixed on a great crown of glory, and they use their charity to the poor as one of the biggest stepping-stones to it. The priests are the same ; they never try to make us happier here. . . . They never try to civilize us. It's always the same story with them. We may live like pigs, wallowing in our filth. It's no sin, they'll tell you, so long as you go regularly to your priest and attend Mass."

I do not endorse Tim Pearson's remarks, but there is matter for thought in them.

There are many who think they see in the distance—some,

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\* I learnt quite recently that the Art for Schools Association had supplied a large number of copies of some of Raffaelle's Madonnas for the decoration of Board Schools.

indeed, believe it to be near at hand—a little cloud arising which may darken the relations which should exist, and hitherto have largely existed, between the clergy and the laity. How frank and friendly these relations can be and should be may be gleaned from the records of the times when England was Catholic, and may be seen if we cross to our sister island. There the clergy are largely taken from among the people; and, so far as I can judge, there is no fear that they will forget those from whom they have sprung. The affectionate familiarity between priest and people, going hand in hand with the greatest respect for the priestly office, is one of the many noticeable features which strike an English Catholic on his first visit to Ireland, should he have the opportunity of mixing with the people. Whatever may be thought of the political position in that country, there can be no doubt that its strength lies mainly in the united front which the clergy and people, from the archbishops down to the most illiterate peasant, are enabled to present. This is a great source, too, of the strength of the Church in Ireland, as its opposite has been a source of weakness to the Church in France ; and its importance, great in a Catholic country, is essential where Catholics are but a handful of the people. It behoves us, then, to consider how this union may best be maintained or promoted in England. That it is in need of support and development the correspondence in Catholic papers from time to time makes manifest.

It is quite certain that the laity might do much more for the Church than they do. Whose fault is it that they do not? There are two views on this point, which I may roughly sum up by saying that the clergy say the laity won't work, and the laity say they are not allowed to work. Both views are, I think, partly true; and yet it seems to me that the greater blame rests with the laity, and for this reason. There are already existing certain recognized organizations of lay work, to which I shall refer at length later on. These at present receive very inadequate support ; and until the Society of St. Vincent of Paul, for example, can show a larger number of conferences, and a far more numerous list of members, we laity have little right to complain. If we are not faithful in a few things, we can hardly expect to be made rulers over many things.

With the clergy, it seems to me that the chief difficulty in the way is their failure to grasp the importance of lay co-operation —a failure all the more remarkable because they must be quite conscious that they are physically incapable of coping with the numerous calls which are made upon their time. Father Bampfield, in his interesting and suggestive pamphlet, illustrates what I am saying. His remarks on lay help, so far as men are concerned, are mainly devoted to "its difficulties ;" the subject itself

is to be "thoroughly discussed by a conference of priests"—which somehow reminds one of the Irish Attorney-General's recently expressed anxiety that Irishmen should be tried by an "independent" jury, who might be trusted to return the verdict which the English Government desired. Perhaps it would be desirable to ascertain if the laity were *willing* to help, before the question of their help came under discussion. Father Bampfield thinks that "voting supplies is the proper work of the laity, their duty, and their glory." This is true; but if the laity are to be limited to this means of co-operation, the means itself will diminish. "Taxation without representation" is not a sound working principle; and those who find the money have some right to know how it will be spent. It is not so long ago since our papers contained a correspondence in which it was bitterly complained that, owing to a change of priest, a church which had been decorated and furnished at no inconsiderable expense in a certain style of art had been metamorphosed to suit the views of the new-comer, who favoured a different system of ornament. It has even been known that handsome Gothic vestments have been cut up into covers for cushions; massive Gothic candlesticks removed to make way for "Roman;" and so on. Are the laity, who "voted supplies" for the first, to do the same for the second, and that without question? And if so, for how long?\* When I read Father Bampfield's pamphlet, I could not help thinking, "Lions would have fared better, had lions been the artists."

The laity are, *de facto*, completely in the hands of the clergy. I am not complaining that this is so; no work can go on in a parish without the approval of the priest, and no sane man would suggest that it should. I have said that the laity are most to blame for their inaction; but their position is not always an easy one. Let me take a quite possible case as an illustration. Father X, on being appointed to a mission, finds a layman, Z, who is able and willing to work, and entrusts him with many parochial undertakings. Z trains the choir, perhaps at his own expense, serves at Mass, establishes a library and a club for men and boys, acts as sacristan, "votes supplies"—or rather *gives* them, as far as possible—both to church and schools, Father X warmly approving and supporting all that is done. Perhaps the good Father, in his zeal for his flock, starts a temperance society, and here, too, Z is his right-hand man. And then there is a change. Father X goes to his reward, and Father Y succeeds

\* I am not of course disputing the *right* of the priest of a mission to the absolute disposal of the property in his charge. But it would seem that the intention of the donor should receive some consideration; and a layman who saw this ignored might fairly withhold any similar gifts which he might otherwise have made.

him. He sees Z in a prominent position—too prominent, he thinks, for a mere layman to occupy. “He will be wanting to say Mass next,” says Father Y to himself, when Z comes to him, as he was wont to do to Father X, with some tale of a drunkard wanting the pledge, or a family neglecting Mass. When once a feeling of what, in a layman, we would call jealousy is aroused, the affair is practically ended. Z’s position is difficult; he is conscientiously trying to continue in his old lines of work, knowing the while that the old approval and support are no longer his, although he has never been told this. If he is wise, he will leave the parish, for his work is at an end. This is not an impossible picture; and it has two sides, and two results. Father Y will say he has had quite enough of lay help; Z will feel that lay help is not wanted; and, unless he is foolish enough to be zealous, will content himself in his next abode by “voting supplies,” saying his prayers, going to church, and amusing himself—leading the sort of life, in fact, that is led by the majority of pious Catholics—a life which, indeed, would be all that could be desired, if our duty to God did not include our duty to our neighbour.

Before referring to the various channels into which lay activity may be directed, it will be well to glance at what is already being done. We have, in the Society of St. Vincent of Paul, an organization capable of undertaking almost everything that comes within the scope of lay work; and it may well be urged that in promoting the extension of this Society we should be at the same time advancing every kind of social activity. According to the book of rules,

The object of the Society is: 1st, to encourage its members, by example and counsel, in the practice of a Christian life; 2ndly, to visit the poor and assist them when in distress, as far as our means permit, and to afford them also religious consolations, remembering the words of our Master: “*Not in bread alone doth man live, but in every word that proceedeth from the mouth of God*” (St. Matt. iv. 4); 3rdly, to apply ourselves, according to our abilities and the time which we can spare, to the elementary and Christian instruction of poor children (whether free or imprisoned), seeing that what we may do for the least among our brethren, Jesus Christ has promised that He will accept as done to Himself; 4thly, to distribute moral and religious books; 5thly, to lend ourselves to every other sort of charitable work which our resources may permit, and which will not conflict with the chief objects of the society.

From this it will be seen, as elsewhere stated in the little book, that although “charitable works are not the primary objects of the Society, they are the principal means made use of to attain that object.” It is worth while to summarize the work for 1886 from the official report for that year.

There are in England 1958 members of the Society, of whom 1204 are active and the remainder honorary. The Provincial Council, with "the very gravest regret," point out that only 102 missions now possess an active conference, whereas there are 1280 where there is none, while as many as 42 have in former years had conferences that are now suspended or extinct. This, indeed, goes far to show the apathy which has overtaken our Catholic laity; for it must be remembered that the S.V.P. is essentially a lay society.\* Here and there it has happened that the priest of the mission has not been willing that the Society should be established; but this is probably quite an exceptional circumstance. London, including both sides of the river, has 342 active members, spread over 32 conferences, Liverpool has 115, and Manchester 108; Preston, Birmingham, and Bristol follow next in order of numbers, which gradually diminish until we reach Barnard Castle, which has only four active members. The sadly small number of the Brothers may be partly accounted for by the fact that the principles of the Society do not seem thoroughly understood by outsiders, although the Provincial Council lays down the axiom that "no work of charity is foreign to our Institute." The excuse for this ignorance has recently been removed to some extent by the publication, for general distribution, of a leaflet giving an account of the aims and needs of the Society. At present too many regard it either as simply a religious confraternity, or as a society for the relief of the poor.

The actual work done during 1886, excluding what is called "Patronage Work," to which reference will be made later, includes the following: Providing working-men with tools, admission to hospitals, distribution of the Catholic Truth Society's publications, clothing school children and others, providing breakfasts and dinners for children, supporting children in homes and asylums, reciting the Rosary in houses of the poor, visiting the dying, providing dispensary and hospital letters, managing libraries and savings banks and boot clubs, teaching in Sunday schools, granting loans of money, providing a Christmas tree for school children, assisting "basket girls" by grants, distributing Rosaries, acting on committees of the Charity Organization Society, getting neglected children baptized, visiting a workhouse, paying school fees, supplying a sewing-machine, providing Catholic papers for a free library, obtaining situations for workhouse children and others, obtaining a licence for hawking, paying railway fares. The total number of visits to poor families during the year was 60,633; 4945 families were on the register, 97 orphans partially

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\* Only four conferences have a priest as president.

or wholly supported, and 13 persons were helped to emigrate : the total income during the year was £7106 18s. 10d.

Brought together in this way, the report of work appears very creditable, as indeed it is. But its value must be estimated in proportion to the needs which the Society has to satisfy ; and none know better than the Brothers themselves how inadequately these needs are attended to. Money, indeed, is required ; but men are wanted more than money : for the relief of the temporal necessities of the poor is but one of the duties of the Society, and not the most important of them. There are probably few among the readers of this paper who have not at times been able to take part in some of the works enumerated above ; their work would be more systematic and of greater benefit if they would ally themselves with others of like spirit, and found a conference of the Society. Our great defect in this, as in almost everything else, lies in our want of organization ; and this we must endeavour to remedy.

It is in the "Patronage Work" that there is the greatest development, and the evidence thus given of a greater realization of the need for doing something for our lads is very gratifying. The number of boys under the care of this branch of the work in its various forms was, in 1886, 2370, as against 1187 in 1885, and 814 in 1884. Almost every kind of work among boys and young men can be brought under this designation, which is, in my opinion, both unsuitable and ill-chosen. It has been taken direct from the French language, in which it "implies"—so says the Report—"the affectionate relations which exist between a Brother of St. Vincent de Paul, or a kind Christian master and his apprentice" (the English is doubtful, but the meaning is clear). This would have been all very well if the word Patronage had not already had a recognized meaning in English, and that one entirely opposed to the spirit which should animate the Brothers of St. Vincent of Paul. There is a foreign air about much of the "Patronage" Report which is not attractive to English ears, and would not work with English boys ; and which is, indeed, hardly likely to strike as practical those who know anything of the lads of our large towns. There is just that assumption that boys are like pieces on a chessboard, and will stay where you put them, that is at the bottom of countless failures in work of this kind. It is not so easy to start a "Patronage" as the translator of the scheme seems to suppose. It is assumed that the use of a school-room can be had for the asking, that the boys will go to monthly communion for the telling, that the "few pounds' worth of interesting story-books and games" will be at once forthcoming, and that the lads will allow themselves to be kept in order by "a pious elderly man." Now, every one who has

worked with boys knows that this scheme is built up of assumptions. As a matter of fact, it is by no means easy to get a school-room, or to make it attractive when got; the "few pounds"—there is an airiness in this way of speaking which raises a mournful smile—are not easy to get; and as for the "pious elderly man"—well, I have tried him, and his piety will not stand the wear and tear. I have known him use strong language, and he had great provocation; but his character for piety was gone. But I must not stop to criticize the well-meant suggestions of the "Patronage" committee; they need revision by some one who understands what English and Irish lads are, and who therefore knows that they are not likely "to begin a good life by a wish for the honour of wearing the collar" to be provided for the virtuous, or to be induced, even by the promise of a prize, to "learn by heart the history of the Passion!" Nor would it be well that "if any Patronage boy use a bad word he should be at once suspended by the person in charge, and perhaps expelled by the conference from the Patronage Gild." In a word, the boys for whom this scheme is adapted are those already good; for them it *might* do, but it would never attract the careless and irreligious.

It is pleasant to state, however, that the "Patronage" committee does not confine its support to clubs worked on its own lines. A wise liberty of action is allowed to local workers, who would often be unable to carry on their work without the aid of funds supplied by the committee. Lads are helped to emigrate from the same fund, and men's clubs have also been assisted. The actual work among the lads includes the establishment of penny banks, night-schools, lectures, and classes of different kinds, superintendence at Mass, and general encouragement in fulfilling religious duties; the formation of Sunday-schools and libraries; the encouragement of temperance, and the like.

In the Catholic Young Men's Society, founded in 1849 by Dean O'Brien, of Limerick, the spiritual good of the members is the primary aim. "It is a brotherhood of practical Catholics, not a refuge for spiritual waifs and strays;" and its aim is rather to keep together in the practice of virtue those who are already good than to reclaim those who have gone astray, as is manifest from its "fundamental rule" of monthly confession. The temporal advantages of the members are, however, by no means lost sight of, and it is this aspect of its work that more immediately concerns us now. The Catholic Young Men's Society is strongest in the south of Scotland and in the north of England; indeed, in the south, it is almost non-existent, and an attempt has been made to supply its place by a conference of Catholic clubs having its centre in London. The following summary of the kinds of work undertaken by the Catholic Young

Men's Society is taken from its last year's Report : Lectures, dramatic clubs, literary and debating societies, gymnasiums, libraries and reading-rooms, clubrooms for games, classes in reading, French, &c., benefit societies, penny banks, football and cricket clubs, social gatherings, popular concerts, bands. It will thus be seen that by the Catholic Young Men's Society, as well as by the Society of St. Vincent of Paul, the social side of things is fully recognized. The conference of Catholic clubs, to which reference has been made, has been too recently formed to allow of any estimate of its work ; but a series of Saturday afternoon excursions has been organized with satisfactory results.

The work of each of these lay societies is distinctly good in quality, but it needs to be greatly increased in quantity ; and we may well devote our best energies to the extension of the Society of St. Vincent of Paul. But there are many openings for lay work which do not come within the scope of that Society.

It has lately been suggested that much could be done by the establishment of parochial councils, to be formed, of course, with the sanction of the priest, and to work under him, which could take up and organize lay work of different kinds. Such councils would not confine themselves to merely social work ; they would aim at organizing the Catholics of their mission into a compact body, which would be available for voting purposes in all parochial matters. Probably no better plan of operation could be devised than that which is suggested in an anonymous pamphlet on "The Education Crisis," published in 1871, as a means of organizing a parish for taking part in the work of raising funds for the support of Catholic schools :

It will be good for the parish priest to gather around him the most influential men of his congregation. Now, this does not necessarily mean that they must be the most monied men ; it means rather those who have an influence over others in their own class and walks of life. He will consult with them how to divide his parish or district into small divisions, which can be easily learnt, worked, and canvassed.

The first work of such a body would be the preparation of a census ; and this alone, judging from experience, would result, in large missions, in the discovery of many Catholics whose children were going to Board schools, and who were unknown to the priest. Such a council would be able to put forward Catholic candidates for boards of guardians, vestries, school boards, and similar positions ; or, if a Catholic candidate were not forthcoming, would bring its influence to bear in favour of those who would support Catholic interests. Such work as this could not be undertaken by the Society of St. Vincent of Paul ; but it is very important, if we are to take our right position as

citizens, and to show that the welfare of the State is with us an aim only second to the exaltation of the Church.

A hindrance to the formation of such a council would be found in the terrible bugbear of politics. I generally find that when people object to "the introduction of politics," they mean such politics as they do not themselves approve; but in this case I think the danger is imaginary. No politics are introduced at the conferences of St. Vincent of Paul;\* and the council might expressly exclude parliamentary elections from its plan. But through its means a connection might be maintained with the various philanthropic societies which welcome Catholic co-operation, such as the Charity Organization Society, the Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children, the Metropolitan Association for Befriending Young Servants, the Reformatory and Refuge Union, and the like.† Catholic lay co-operation with these bodies is much to be desired, and is always warmly accepted; and through their means our neglected children are often reclaimed to the Church.‡ Again, we should surely be willing to take our parts in the various and numerous organizations which have for their aim the brightening of the homes and the lives of the poor. The Metropolitan Playgrounds Association, the Society for Preserving Open Spaces, the Kyrle Society, the societies which aim at providing good music for the people, the Art for Schools Association—these are only some of the organizations with which Catholics might well co-operate, showing by so doing that the temporal as well as the spiritual welfare of the people comes within the purview of the Church. We want more clubs for men and boys, more societies for women, more amusement for our people, more encouragement of temperance and thrift; but it is to the laity that we must look for the supplying of these wants.

In the volume on the "Leakage of the Church," a proposal for the establishment of homes for Catholic poor working-boys—which has already been taken up in Manchester—is developed at

\* The exclusion of politics from St. Vincent of Paul illustrates what I have just said. When I started my *League of the Cross Magazine*, I said that "every Irishman would be glad to know" that Archbishop Croke had promised me his support; and I further referred to his Grace as "patriotic." A well-known Brother of St. Vincent de Paul, whose conference had subscribed, at once by word and letter protested against this as an introduction of politics, and the subscription was not renewed. Yet when "Primrose Day" coincided with a S.V.P. quarterly meeting, there was quite a show of primroses among the brothers present!

† Mr. D. F. Leahy read an important paper on this point at the Low Week meeting of the Catholic Truth Society, which will be found in the *Catholic Temperance Magazine* for this month. I have also touched upon it in the volume on "The Leakage of the Catholic Church."

‡ Many conferences of St. Vincent de Paul are represented by one of their members on the local Charity Organization Society committees.

some length. The expense of such homes is shown not to be great, and those interested in this branch of lay-work will find the facts and figures adduced with careful attention. The great good which may be done among the rough working-girls of our large towns by the establishment of sewing-classes and the like, is also dwelt upon in some detail.

The field of literature, in which Catholics are neither infrequent nor unskilled labourers, has still untilled spots which require cultivation. We want a series of short practical papers and leaflets on the various ways of exercising thrift, on the advantages of banks and benefit societies, on the need for self-culture, the importance of combinations, and other matters of the kind. There is an excellent supply of such publications issued by those outside the Church, most of which are suitable for adoption among ourselves; but there are many who would be more willing to take up these important subjects if say the Catholic Truth Society would follow the example of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, and issue a series of leaflets on social matters, suitable for general distribution.

It is well that some of us should take the trouble to become acquainted with the modes of working adopted by non-Catholic organizations. As I have said elsewhere—

There are some who are inclined to be shocked when anything of this kind is suggested; but it is difficult to understand why they should be so. It has been the universal practice of wise men of all kinds and all times, and it has the highest sanction. *Fas est et ab hoste doceri* is a well known saying; and it will be remembered how, in the parable, the lord commended the unjust steward because he had done wisely, for the children of this world are in their generation wiser than the children of light. Churches and church festivals have been reared upon the ruins of heathen temples and fallen superstitions; why should we wish to be more wise than Our Lord, and more critical than His Church? \*

I may be allowed to give an example of the advantage of this adaptation of ideas. Shortly before Christmas, 1885, an account appeared in the *Echo* of Lady Wolverton's "Needlework Guild," which seemed to me so useful and simple that I wrote for further particulars. I then obtained a dozen of Lady Wolverton's little books explaining that work, which I sent to as many Catholic ladies, calling their attention to it, and asking whether they would be willing to join a similar society, should such be formed under Catholic auspices. At the same time I obtained the Bishop of Southwark's approval of the scheme. The proposal was taken up with an alacrity which I think has never been

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\* *Month*, May, 1887.

equalled in any Catholic enterprise. In less than six months the Catholic Needlework Guild was established, diocesan committees were formed, with the sanction of the Cardinal Archbishop and many Bishops; and Catholic women of all classes, from the aristocracy to domestic servants, enrolled themselves as members. Special indulgences have now been obtained for the Guild, which has succeeded beyond the expectations of its first workers. I think it worth while to put on record this account of the origin of what is already a widespread and popular Catholic organization, because it shows not only how advantageously a non-Catholic undertaking may be adapted by Catholics, but also how ready folk are to work if they are shown how to set about it. My own share in the work having been confined to the first suggestion of its possibility, I shall, I hope, not be thought vain-glorious in thus referring to it.\*

Of the work of organizing clubs of different kinds, it is not here my intention to speak; not because I ignore its importance, but because I have elsewhere written about it at some length.<sup>t</sup> And the space at my disposal will not allow me to do more than indicate the desirability of our establishing in London some Catholic centre which should embrace such educational work as is carried on with admirable zeal and devotion, and, it is gratifying to add, with proportionate success, at Toynbee Hall and elsewhere. Other humanizing agencies, already utilized freely by those outside the Church, we should be ready and willing to employ. It would not be a great thing for a Catholic lady to invite to her suburban residence for a summer's day some of those who spend their years in narrow streets, with no bright surroundings of trees and flowers, and without any of the thousand prettinesses which go towards making our homes what they are. We might surely, some of us, whose lot is cast in London or in large towns, do something to bring the children of our poor schools into relations with the museums and art galleries, which are indeed open to all who will come to them, but which are as unknown to the boys and girls of our streets and alleys as though they were fenced off from them by impenetrable barriers. We may, with little trouble to ourselves, do something to make the treasures of art and science intelligible, to share the education which we have acquired with those less favoured, but perhaps not less capable of appreciation, than ourselves. These things

\* I may just say that the only rule of the Guild is that each member shall, during the year, make two garments for the poor. The general secretary (Miss Calogan, 4, Kildare Terrace, Bayswater, W.) will, I am sure, gladly give all information regarding the Guild.

<sup>t</sup> *Month*, September, 1885.

can be done, and are done, by those who are not Catholics. Are our duties to the poor less, because our privileges are greater?

But it is time to conclude, and I will do so by grouping the work of the laity under three principal heads as follows :

I. Spiritual : this would embrace Sunday-school and guild work, and such things as supplying the poor with prayer-books, religious pictures, and rosaries, promoting general communions in boys' clubs, and the like, and would in every respect be completely under the direction of the clergy.

II. Temporal : under this head would come not only the relief of the poor in their temporal necessities, but every kind of Catholic social work, such as savings-banks, clubs, providing amusement for various classes, temperance work, libraries, the needlework guild, and in short everything which can tend to brighten the daily lives of the poor.

III. Co-operative : the co-operation whenever possible with non-Catholic societies which aim at the improvement of the condition of the people. The Charity Organization Society may be taken as a type of these, many of which have already been referred to. Under this heading, too, would come the work of poor law guardians, school boards, vestries, and the like.

Is it too much to say that under one or other of these heads every layman and woman who has the will and the heart may find something to do for the love of God and of their neighbour? Is there any one who can urge want of time or the claims of society as an excuse for not helping in some one of the many ways which have been indicated, or in the many other ways which any one who is willing will easily discover for himself? To suppose so would be to assume that we Catholics have less love for our poorer brethren than those around us who are not of the unity of the faith ; that we have no wish that the Church should retain her glorious title of "the Church of the Poor ;" and that even for society we care so little that we will not do our part towards strengthening the bonds which are being strained until they are in danger of snapping.

There was a time, not so far distant, when Catholics were accredited by those outside the Church with a pre-eminent zeal for the corporal works of mercy. I do not suppose we are now less zealous than we were ; but the awakening of those around us and the energy with which they have applied themselves to work, have put our efforts into the background, and we are losing the character for devotion to the poor which we formerly possessed. If we would regain or maintain it, we must stir ourselves afresh. No matter how great our zeal may be or our readiness to work, we shall find in the crowded courts and alleys of our large towns, or in the neglected units of our small ones,

more than sufficient scope for both. And this mention of our large towns brings me to one other suggestion, with which I will conclude.

Many of the English public schools and colleges have of late years taken up a new kind of work. A mission is started in some poor part of London to establish a church, with schools, clubs, and social works of all kinds, the expenses of which are defrayed by the members of some one of these schools or colleges. In South London alone such missions have been planted by five Cambridge colleges, and by Charterhouse, Wellington, and Dulwich schools. In this way another band of union is established between the different classes of society; and even those who, from one cause or another, cannot themselves take active part in the work of civilizing and in a manner Christianizing the community, are enabled by their alms to share in the work. Cannot something of this sort be done among ourselves? How many priests there are who would willingly have in their crowded missions a hall for meetings and lectures, rooms for clubs and libraries, amusements for their boys and young men, social recreation for their girls and young women, but who might as well wish for the moon as for anything of the kind! The needs of our poor and the duties of the more wealthy towards them have lately been brought before the inmates of some of our schools and colleges; and it may be hoped that this will lead to some practical result? If Stonyhurst, or Ushaw, or Oscott, would undertake to subscribe annually some sum towards the support of a working-men's club in the poorer parts of London, or Manchester, or Liverpool, the result could not fail to be beneficial. A blessing to "him that gives and him that takes" could not fail to follow; one more link would be added to the chain which should bind together the different classes of society—a chain which is weakening year by year; we should realize more and more that we are children of the same God and of the same Church, that our aims and hopes and interests are the same, and that it is not so much our duty as our privilege to help one another.

JAMES BRITTON.

## Notes of Travel and Exploration.

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**French Travellers in Central Asia.**—Messrs. Capus and Bonvalot, whose impressions of Merv have been already published, have written to the French Geographical Society a more detailed account of their tour in a letter from Samarcand, of November 6, 1886. They left Teheran for Meshed on April 27 in a hired carriage of sufficiently stout build to bear the jolting on a road whose sonorous title of “the Imperial route” is scarcely justified by its character. It follows the foot of the mountains to Shah-rud, Sabzawar and Nishapur, skirting the edge of the “Keber,” or great Salt Desert. Its crystalline surface is strewn with various salts, in which soda and magnesia are prominent, rendering the water bad and cultivation impossible. It is a treeless expanse, identical in its natural products with the Central Asian deserts, and the character of the region is summed up by the travellers in the statement that not a single forest is passed between the bridge of the Mandjil and the Tian Shan.

**Persian Towns.**—The towns of Northern Persia are [they continue] destitute of character. A few ruined mosques, some fine but dilapidated minarets, attract the attention of the historian, and prove to him that the finest monuments of Asia date no further back than the Mongol dominion. Bastan is the most interesting of these towns, for it preserves some relics of these ancient times, and, among others, an architectural curiosity, a shaking minaret of the character of those one sees at Ispahan. Minarets were probably used as observatories. The population has few points of interest in a moral sense, and we do not hesitate to place it below that of Bokhara and Khiva. The cultivation of opium is an indication of the deterioration of the people, and the Turcomans thoroughly despise them; but since the Russians have occupied their territory, they can no longer put to the proof the effeminate spirit of the Persians. All the villages are fortified, and some of them are surrounded by a triple rampart and a ditch. Meshed, the capital of Khorasan, which we reached on May 25, is the most fanatical city we have yet come across in Central Asia. Every infidel is forbidden to enter that part of the city called “Best,” where repose under gold and blue cupolas the remains of the Imam Reza. From all parts of Persia pilgrims flock to the tomb of this saint. The road from Meshed to Teheran was covered at this time with Arabs from Kerbala, who abandoned everything to visit, with their wives and children, the holy place. Like the pilgrims to Mecca, they often carried with them the corpaes of their dead friends, wishing them to repose beside the Imam Reza.

Being refused permission by the Afghan authorities to visit Herat, the travellers proceeded to Sarakhs, where they found the Persian village of that name dilapidated and miserable, but the new Russian town rapidly growing in importance. The Tejend (lower Heri-Rud) was here a considerable stream, but its muddy

water is very bad for drinking. Leaving Sarakhs for Merv on June 20 the party suffered much from the hot wind of the desert, rendering travelling by day impossible.

**Velocity of Ocean Currents.**—The Académie des Sciences in Paris has received an interesting report from Admiral Bouquet de la Grye, detailing a series of experiments instituted by the Prince of Monaco to test the velocity of currents in the North Atlantic by means of light water-tight caskets or vessels launched into the sea at a considerable distance from shore. Those started off from the Azores in 1885 reached the land after an interval indicating a rate of motion of from two to four miles a day, while later observations indicated a speedier rate of transit. Of 500 launched in deep sea off Cape Finisterre, twelve arrived at the French coast a little below Arcachon, after an interval indicating an average daily rate of travel of about six miles. Some were of glass and some of copper. The former, floating on the surface, were exposed more to the buffeting of the waves as well as to the influence of the currents; so that it may not be easy to determine how much each of these factors contributed to the actual movement. A number of observations were also carried out to determine the temperature of the ocean at different depths in various localities. In the Bay of Biscay, at a depth of 100 mètres, a lower temperature was found than at a similar depth off the Portuguese coast. One of the circumstances which invest these observations of deep-sea temperatures with peculiar interest is the light they help to throw on the habitat of marine animals and plants, and especially on the migrations of fishes—on those of sardines, for example, which are known to have changed their haunts within living memory.—*Times*, January 25, 1887.

**Trade Prospects on the Upper Yang-tse.**—The highest point hitherto reached by commerce on the Yang-tse is the Treaty Port of Ichang, 1,000 miles from the sea; but an effort is now about to be made to give effect to the stipulation of the Chefoo Convention that the port of Chung-King, 400 miles higher up, should be thrown open to foreign trade as soon as a steamer should succeed in reaching it. The rapids by which the river is interrupted in passing through the Ichang gorges, have hitherto proved an obstacle to the fulfilment of this condition, but the difficulties thus opposed to navigation have been exaggerated; and Mr. Archibald Little, a merchant of Ichang, having collected the £10,000 required for expenses, is about to have a pioneer steamer specially constructed, with which he will start on an experimental trip. Should it be successful, a great part of the interior of China will be thrown open to British trade, as Chung-King will then come under the regulations affecting treaty ports, exempting foreign merchandize from inland transit dues, and enabling goods to be landed 1,400 miles from the sea on the same terms as at Shang-Hai. The great province of Szechuan, which would be thus opened up, is one of the wealthiest in China, with a population of 30,000,000, and a soil, which while lightly taxed, bears two crops in the year, one of them of poppy. Although the freight to Chung-King is 70*s.* per ton, and 14*s.* thence seaward, the traffic on the river

is estimated at 10,000 tons a month in each direction, and some £700,000 worth of foreign goods are annually thus imported, while Szechuan exports eastward goods to the amount of about £10,000 sterling.

**Animal Life on the Amazon.**—Mr. Simson,\* in his account of his wanderings in Ecuador, on the Upper Amazon and its tributaries, gives some details of the exuberance of life on their waters. The turtle, one of the most useful denizens of the great stream, is found on it in such profusion, that, from the yield of one sandbank alone, 40,000 to 60,000 litres of turtle oil, representing a destruction of eight or ten million eggs, are annually manufactured. When we consider, moreover, that the turtle, both on land and water, furnishes an aldermanic banquet to bird, fish, and quadruped, and that myriads of the newly hatched brood are consumed by their voracious neighbours, we can form some idea of the prolific reproduction of the dainty amphibian.

Less innocuous creatures swarm in like profusion, and alligators in some spots crowd the banks to such an extent that they have to scramble over each other's backs to reach the water, and 500 individuals, some ten or twelve feet long, may be counted in a comparatively small space. The rivers discharging into the Atlantic and Pacific appear to be frequented by different species, those of the western rivers having the distinguishing peculiarity of an upper jaw completely pierced by two holes, through which two of the lower teeth protrude.

**Jesuit Missionaries in Ecuador.**—Mr. Simson gives a striking picture of the devotion of the Jesuit missionaries to their Indian flocks during a terrible epidemic of small-pox, when they never relaxed their ministrations in the most loathsome stages of the disease. “Can the lives of our Protestant missionaries,” he asks, “be compared to those of Rome in abnegation? Those who have known both, be it in the East or in the West, will be able to say which lead the lives exemplified by their professed Master.”

The expulsion of the Jesuits in 1767 led to the relapse of the population from all the habits of order and morality instilled by those teachers, whose place was very badly supplied by the ignorant local clergy. The restoration of the Jesuit missions dates only from 1870-71, but a great improvement has already taken place under their régime, the Fathers being invested with supreme civil authority in their respective districts. Their plan is to isolate the inhabitants almost altogether from the rest of the world, restricting all trade to a few known and trusted dealers, and thus excluding its demoralizing influences from these savage communities. A large section of the Indians in the Eastern province of Ecuador are still heathens, and all are in a very backward stage of civilization.

**Recent Journey through Tibet.**—An interesting account of the travels of Mr. Carey, of the Bengal Civil Service, given in the

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\* “Wanderings in the Wilds of Ecuador.” By Alfred Simson. London Sampson Low & Co. 1886.

*Pioneer* newspaper, is summarized in the *Times* of May 9, 1887. Starting about two years ago, he arrived at Lake Lob in April, 1886, and, having collected a caravan to carry supplies, continued his journey thence. The Altyn Dagh was crossed into Northern Tibet, an almost barren region, in which, for eighty-two days, not a human being was seen. A caravan of Chinese pilgrims who were then met were unable to furnish supplies, and Mr. Carey, at the end of July, left the caravan to seek food for his animals, returning on the 1st of September with a stock of barley. He then proceeded to Yarkand for the winter, left it for India on the 7th of March, and, crossing the Changla Pass, which was deep in snow, arrived safely at Leh, having visited most places of importance in Eastern Turkistan, and seen something of Mongolia, Tibet, and Western China. He was everywhere well received by the people and officials.

**Dr. Junker in Central Africa.**—The evening meeting of the Royal Geographical Society on May 9, 1887, was noteworthy from the presence of Dr. Junker, recently returned from many years of wandering through the heart of Africa. He began his address by stating that letters had been received from Emin Pasha down to October 26, 1886, acknowledging the welcome arrival of a caravan sent by the speaker, which had given great encouragement and pleasure. The object of his journey, undertaken in 1881, was the exploration in a series of circular journeys of the countries watered by the Wellè-Makua, as well as the solution, by following the course of that river as far as possible to the westward, of the problem whether it sends its waters to the Congo or Lake Tchad. Although few details of these journeys were given, their result, in combination with those of Mr. Grenfell on the Upper Congo, has been to identify the Mobanzi, the great tributary of the latter river, with Schweinfurth's Wellè. Dr. Junker's explorations in this direction extended as far south as the river Nepoko, which he believes identical with Stanley's Aruwimi.

The general system of the traveller, adopted in consequence of the comparatively small number of attendants by whom he was accompanied, was to make his head-quarters at a given point, thence making prolonged excursions into the neighbouring territories. His practice was to send messengers before him to the native potentates to assure them of the peaceful character of his visit, proclaimed by the absence of a military escort, a fact which the wary chiefs took care to verify by sending envoys to meet him before sanctioning his advance. His stations, when intended for permanent occupation, were defended by a fence and hedge of thorns against the attacks of leopards, which are very numerous, and frequently attack human beings, especially the women sent to fetch water. Their habit of returning to their prey if unable to finish it at once renders them liable to be caught in snares, while lions, though equally abundant, are more cautious, avoiding nets of all kinds, so much so that the natives secure themselves at night by spreading light nets over their huts. Hunting is laborious from the great thickness of the grass, and only in December and January, after it

has been burned down, is it possible to take exercise with comfort. The game retreats to the spots spared by the conflagration, and here the elephants, with their feet injured by the fire, fall an easy prey to the Akkas. The grass, growing rapidly again, is in April so tall as to render travelling extremely arduous.

**Central African Politics.**—The great Monbuttu and Niam-Niam Empires, Dr. Junker stated, have completely fallen to pieces, in consequence of having been divided among the very numerous descendants of their rulers; the people were continually quarrelling, and throughout the whole of the country traversed by Dr. Junker there was not one really powerful king. In Monbuttuland the women painted their bodies with tricolour devices resembling an inlaid floor, and the decoration in this style of the ladies of rank was extremely elaborate and ingenious. The first signs of the Mahdist movement, destined to set the whole Soudan in a blaze, began here in 1882, and the revolt of the Denka tribes cut the traveller off from returning to Bahr-el-Ghazal by way of Meshra-er-Rek. At first Lupton Bey hoped to be able to quell the movement, but receiving no help from the Egyptian Government, and deserted by his own troops, who, being principally Dongolawi and Arabs instead of native Soudanese, sympathized and fraternized with the rebels, he was eventually compelled to surrender. This unfortunate officer, now a prisoner in the hands of the Mahdi's Khalifa, Dr. Junker strenuously defends against the accusations made against him.

**Position of Emin Pasha.**—When Dr. Junker recognized the impossibility of making his way northwards, he retraced his steps to the East, about the end of the year 1883, and met Emin Bey at Lado (Gondokoro). Here he received the letters sent to him from Europe in the previous May, the last news he was to receive from home for many months. Instead of European news, the beleaguered men now began to receive violent and threatening letters from the Mahdi, containing reports of defeats of the English, to which little credence was given. Immediately after the fall of Khartoum, Emin Bey received an insolent letter from the Emir Karamalla, whom the Mahdi desired to advance against him. This he did continuously, and when, in April, 1884 (?), he had seized Amadi and Makaka, Emin deemed it better to retreat before him, and remove the State archives from Lado to Dufilé. Here he prepared for the worst, when suddenly the rebel leader, for some unexplained reason (probably, the Mahdi's death and the subsequent disorders), stopped his onward movement and returned to the North. At length, on January 2, 1886, Dr. Junker left Emin and Casati, to make his way through Unyoro to Zanzibar, a journey which he accomplished successfully. In his opinion, the reconquest of the Soudan provinces would be comparatively easy, as the people are weary of war and continued disturbances, while the death of the Mahdi has deprived the revolt of its *raison d'être*. The traveller's accounts of Central Africa give good grounds for hoping that Stanley's rescue expedition may be successful, as there seemed by the last information received to be no immediate danger threatening Emin Pasha.

**Tippu Tib and Mr. Stanley.**—A correspondent in the *Times* of May 17, writing from Matadi, on the Congo, on March 30, gives the summary of a conversation with Tippu Tib, on his relations with Mr. Stanley and the International Association. Questioned as to his motives in consenting to co-operate with the former, and to accompany him to Boma, the ex-slave-trader replied as follows:

I never clearly understood the object or the organization of the International African Association. The other Arab chiefs and myself at first believed, on seeing expeditions organized at Zanzibar, that the Europeans wished to compete with us in the markets there and at Tabora, and export, like ourselves, ivory and other produce. We did not know whether Stanley and the other white chiefs were acting for the King of the Belgians, for Belgium, or for the International Association, and we were always left in doubt on the point. But now that we have seen that such are not the intentions of the whites—that is to say, of the Belgians and English whom we have met on the East Coast—now that they have abandoned this part of Africa, in order to establish by common accord, we are told, between all the great peoples of Europe, a State where everybody may freely trade, we see no further reason to doubt the good intentions of the whites, who have already done so much for Africa.

I confess that at first the idea of becoming a functionary of the Congo State was a singular one to me. But Stanley pointed out that I should have a privileged position ; that the State on its side could only gain by seeing its establishments on the Upper Congo supported by the authority which, for many years past I had acquired over the people of the interior, who all knew me through having traded with me ; while, as regarded myself, I could not but strengthen my commercial relations, by means of the support which the Congo State would afford to me, as to all who were established on its territory. I perceived the justice of these arguments, and I had, moreover, at heart, to remedy as far as I could the mischief which the Arabs, and the population at the Falls, had done in destroying the station at Stanley Falls.

**Native Trade in Central Africa.**—The past and present commercial conditions of the continent were expounded by this shrewd and intelligent native, who evidently knows how to conciliate European sentiment. The son of a Zanzibar Arab, Tippu Tib detests the negroes, and professes attachment to the whites, whom he calls his European brothers. His familiar sobriquet is due to a twitching of the eyes to which he is subject, and his real name is Hamed-ben-Hamed.

The circumstances [he said] under which trade is carried on with the East Coast are no longer so favourable as some years back, when I commenced trading with Zanzibar and abroad. Trade at that period had, so to speak, no existence. I established myself at Houron near Tabora, with my old father and my brother, Mohammed Massoudi, wishing first to create in the neighbourhood plantations yielding satisfactory returns, and above all to monopolize the ivory trade by establishing Arab correspondents throughout Central Africa, on the shores of the Lakes, and as far as Nyangwe. The people of the centre, who had no means of disposing of their considerable stocks of ivory, let me have them at a price which enabled me to realize a large profit. In a short time I had monopolized all the sources of ivory production, and all the trade of the Manyema was in my hands. The great difficulty has always been to bring the produce

of Central Africa to the markets of Tabora and Zanzibar. At first this was easy enough, but gradually the people of the centre became aware that they could also gain something by my operations, and commenced imposing heavy tribute on me for right of way through their territories. For instance, the Wa-Kundis, who alone possess the boats necessary for crossing the Malagarazi, exact exorbitant terms for the use of them. Certain tribes sometimes attacked my caravans, causing me heavy loss in men and merchandize. Even on the coast the conditions of trade changed. The Germans were everywhere, and their pretensions rendered business more and more difficult. Great difficulties arose from this state of things, and on all these grounds I concluded that, if the trade of Central Africa could follow another route and reach the coast by sure roads, on which no tribute would have to be paid, and where no difficulties were to be apprehended, everybody would be the gainer. After what I have seen at Banana and Boma I believe I am not mistaken, and that traders like myself can only gain by despatching their produce from Nyangwe by way of the Falls and the Congo.

The wily Arab omitted in this review of commercial changes to notice the effect of restrictions on the slave-trade in annihilating that in ivory. The latter could never be sold profitably if carried for thousands of miles by hired porters, and it was only the device of utilizing the one form of merchandize for the transport of the other that rendered the trade lucrative. On its old footing it can no longer continue to be carried on in face of the advance of European civilization, and Tippu Tib is wise in seeking to adapt himself to the altered circumstances of his time.

**Progress of the Emin Relief Expedition.**—A telegram from St. Thomas of May 23 announced that news had been received at Boma of the departure from Leopoldville of the last detachment of the expedition on its way up the river. One detachment had already started for Bolobo, a station higher up, and the remainder started, all well, on April 29, in the steamers *Stanley* and *Peace*, with the *Henry Read*, the steamer of the Livingstone Mission, towing the hulk of the *Florida* and a number of lighters. The march of the expedition from the navigable portion of the Lower Congo to the Pool was retarded by the necessity for obtaining provisions so as not to encroach on the stores reserved for the portion of the journey between Stanley Falls and Wadelai, as well as by the close order in which the caravan was obliged to march, as a precaution against attacks from the marauders who infest this region. The expedition owing to these causes did not cover more than nine miles a day, but the men supported the fatigue well, and only two or three had to be left behind at Stanley Pool. The interval spent there between their arrival and the departure of the main body on the 29th of April was employed in packing and redistributing the bales on the steamers engaged for the navigation of the Upper Congo, and in negotiations with the Baptist Mission for the use of their steamer *Peace*, which was eventually conceded.

**Difficulties of the Route.**—The question of the supply of fuel for the steamers is the chief preoccupation of the leaders, and, in anticipation of some difficulty on this head, an advance guard was sent forward to Bolobo, a station on the southern bank of the Congo,

above its confluence with the Kassai. Orders will be successively sent forward to the other stations to revictual the expedition on its passage up the river, in order that the provisions on board may be reserved for the land march. As all the boats are heavily laden, it is calculated that they will take thirty or forty days to reach Stanley Falls, where will begin the most arduous part of the journey, a march of 300 miles through an unexplored country. The appearance of the flotilla, headed by the *Stanley*, flying the English flag with that of the Congo State, causes great excitement among the natives, who flock to the banks to see it pass. The Kassai confluence was passed on May 6, Bolobo would be reached two days later, and Stanley Falls, it was hoped, on June 5.

**Present Position of Affairs on Stanley Pool.**—Reuter's Agency has received a communication, dated Boma, March 30, describing as follows the progress made since Mr. Stanley, at the head of the first expedition of the International Association, founded Leopoldville, on Stanley Pool, in 1881.

There are now at Stanley Pool nine establishments, containing more than fifty Europeans employed in managing either trading stations or missions. Among others, there are the English Baptist mission, directed by the Rev. Mr. Grenfell, and occupied by three missionaries, including one lady; Bishop Taylor's mission at Kimpoko, with eight missionaries, who will shortly have a steamer of their own wherewith to navigate the pool; and finally, the Livingstone Inland Mission, directed by American missionaries. There are also the French station of De Brazzaville, a factory from Rotterdam established last year, a French factory, and the two Belgian stations of Leopoldville and Kinchassa, containing fifteen Europeans, twenty workmen, and a garrison of Houssas and Bangalas.

Stanley Pool is at present one of the most active colonies of Central Africa, being in some sort the central station, separating the Lower from the Upper Congo. This activity will greatly develop with the construction of the railway from Matadi to Leopoldville. Then will the centre of Africa really be opened up politically as a new State.

**Line of Projected Railway.**—It is proposed to construct a railway, which, skirting the rapids, shall connect the Lower Congo with the fluvial system of the Upper Congo, the navigable portion of which extends over about 9,500 miles. The line will be from 195 to 200 miles in length. It is not yet known if it will follow the southern bank of the river, or leave it to pass through flatter country. An expedition is shortly expected here from Brussels, which will make the necessary surveys. On reaching Matadi, this expedition will separate into three parties, which will make their way independently towards Leopoldville by the southern bank, each operating at a distance of five miles from the other. On meeting at Leopoldville, the three parties will compare notes, and decide upon the route offering the least difficulties for the proposed railway line. The Falls and Bangala's Country will be then not more than

thirty days' journey from Banana, and a very considerable result will be obtained.

**Proposed Introduction of Chinese.**—The great difficulty experienced by the Independent Congo State is the acclimatization of Europeans, a difficulty which exists, in fact, through greater part of Africa. The services of many devoted and intelligent men have been lost because they were brought too suddenly into a climate altogether different from that of Europe. The losses have been heavier on the western than on the eastern side, and more numerous still on the Congo itself. At present, however, they are less, because the European managers now in Africa have nearly all previously lived in hot climates. The difficulty remains great, however, as regards non-acclimatized European workmen, who cannot easily withstand the African climate.

It is for this reason that the Congo State has endeavoured to bring over Chinese to Central Africa. When General, then Colonel Strauch, Administrator of the Congo State at Brussels, was at Berlin in 1885 to assist in the labours of the Congo Conference, he had some conversation with General Tcheng-ki-Tong, the Chinese Military Attaché, to whom he proposed that 500 Chinamen belonging to the various handicraft trades, joiners, carpenters, gardeners, &c., should be sent to the Congo. They were to receive a fixed salary, a free passage to the Congo and back, and an assurance that in case of death their bodies should be sent to China for interment. The Chinese Military Attaché promised to transmit this proposal to Pekin, but no reply has yet been made by the Chinese Government.

**Organization of the Congo State.**—The Governor-General administers the State with sovereign powers, deciding all difficulties by his personal authority, and is invested even with discretionary power to suspend the execution of the Royal decrees in case of necessity. These are published at Boma, the residence of the Governor-General, in the name of King Leopold, Sovereign of the Congo State. They refer chiefly to the rights of property and enforcement of order, under the civil and criminal code as existing in Belgium, which has been made obligatory throughout the whole of the Congo State. A tribunal has been established at Boma, and a postal service from Banana to Leopoldville, the central office being at the former place. There is no direct telegraphic communication with the Congo State, the nearest station being St. Thomas on the Gaboon. The United States and Belgium are the only two countries which, up to the present date, have accredited Consuls to the Congo State.

**Unfavourable Reports from the French Congo.**—The French territory in the Congo district is described as a prey to warlike tribes, who incessantly devastate the best parts of the Ogowé basin, attacking exploring parties and caravans, and laying waste the settlements already founded in that region. M. de Brazza, Governor-General of the French Congo, who left Libraville on the coast some months ago for the interior of the colony, was attacked by a strong body of Paluins, who tried to prevent him from continuing

his journey up the Ogowé. A fight ensued on the river, in which M. de Brazza repulsed his assailants, inflicting on them heavy loss. He himself lost some men, and several others who were wounded, had to be sent back to the coast. M. de Brazza continued his journey, but it was feared he would meet with fresh and serious difficulties as he advanced.

**Germans in Africa.**—Since the middle of 1884, the date of the first German settlement, the progress of Germany in Africa has been rapid, and she already rules over three extensive regions, with boundaries laid down by treaties with England, France, and Portugal. On the western coast, the Germans possess—first, the Cameroons, giving them the command of the most direct road from the sea towards Lake Tchad ; and, secondly, Namaqualand, where Herr Luderitz created a settlement at Angra Pequena. The future of this colony is less promising than that of the Cameroons, but it extends eastwards to the great waterway of the Zambesi. The third and largest colony is that on the eastern coast, extending inland to the three great central lakes, Tanganyika, Nyassa, and Victoria Nyanza, and giving Germany, in a political sense, the command of half Central Africa. Intelligence from Zanzibar states that the Germans are about to establish custom-houses and a centre for political operations at Dar-es-Salam, on the eastern coast, an excellent port, which will become a damaging rival and menacing neighbour to Zanzibar. The Germans do not confine themselves to organizing their influence on the coast ; they have sent a number of emissaries from Zanzibar to the great lakes, in order to enter into relations with the chiefs and persuade them that Germany is the only political and commercial Power with whom it will be for their interest in future to be on good terms.

**Canadian Pacific Railway.**—The first through train on this line reached its ocean terminus at Vancouver on May 24, all previous trains having stopped at New Westminster. The completion of the line was celebrated on the spot with much rejoicing.

**Plague of Locusts in Spain.**—The district of La Mancha was visited in May and June last by such swarms of locusts as not only to consume all vegetable products, but even to impede and interrupt railway traffic, from the myriads in which they accumulated on the lines, clogging the rails and obliging the trains to travel at a rate of only two or three miles an hour. A subsidy was immediately voted by the Cortes for the relief of the devastated provinces, where all the sustenance of the inhabitants was destroyed.

**North Sea and Baltic Canal.**—On the 3rd of June the works of the maritime canal from Kiel to Brunsbüttel were inaugurated by the Emperor of Germany, who laid the foundation stone of the first lock at the Baltic end of the new channel. The latter will have a strategic, as well as a commercial importance, and will be defended by strong fortifications. The total cost, including these works, is estimated at £9,800,000 for a length of sixty-one English miles. Its depth of 27ft. 10in. will admit of its being used by the largest ships of the German Navy, as well as by all merchant vessels. The

route to the Baltic from all ports south of the latitude of Scotland will be shortened by 237 nautical miles, representing an average saving of time of twenty-two hours to steamers and three days to sailing vessels; while the difficult task of weathering the Skaw in which some 200 vessels are annually lost, will be obviated. The charges for transit will amount to about 9d. per registered ton, and a revenue of some £206,250 is calculated on for about 18,000 ships expected to use the new waterway, out of 35,000 which now annually pass the Sound. It has been pointed out, on the other hand, by Count Moltke, that in very severe frosts the canal may be impassable, even for ironclads armed with ice-riving rams.

**Revival of the Soudan Company Project.**—An authoritative report on the commercial possibilities of the Soudan has been prepared by Mr. Francis W. Fox, who went out at his own expense to investigate the subject. His opinion is so favourable that he recommends the formation of a Company on the principle of the Borneo Company, but without an exclusive monopoly, for the development of the resources of this vast country. He proposes that arrangements should be made with the principal sheikhs of each district, who should form so many distinct groups, under the direction of resident Englishmen, to guarantee the safety of the roads, and undertake to provide transport. Each tribe, or confederacy of tribes, should have its separate trade route, leading to as many factories on the coast, of which Suakin would be the chief and most centrally situated. The oft-proposed railway from Suakin to Berber, in connection with a system of light-draught steamers on the Upper Nile, is an integral part of the scheme, and Mr. Fox calculates that its construction, on the plan of the mètre-gauge surface railways used in India, would not, at present prices of materials, exceed £3,500 a mile. The direct distance is 250 miles, but the railway mileage would be 280, giving a total cost of £980,000. The trade of the Soudan before the war was computed at £2,500,000 a-year, equally divided between imports and exports, and Manchester goods could then be delivered at Khartoum, *via* Suakin, in seven weeks. This trade is only waiting for favourable circumstances to revive, and Mr. Fox says: “There can be no doubt in my mind that a chartered company, properly worked in a quiet and unaggressive manner, would soon be firmly established in the Soudan, and as soon as touch could be got with the Nile at Berber, and steamers could be placed there, the whole Blue and White Nile Valleys would be at the company's feet.”

**Fertility of the Equatorial Provinces.**—Emin Bey wrote from his province, in 1883, that, though no help had been received from Khartoum for five years, cotton, indigo, sugar-cane, and rice were being cultivated, ostrich farms had been started, oxen trained to draught, and the net profit of the province for 1882 was £8,000. He believed that, with a few Europeans to help him, and a small allowance from Khartoum to start with, for the purchase of seeds and agricultural implements, he could soon raise this revenue to £20,000, exclusive of ivory, which is a Government monopoly.

Even the Kordofan deserts are not commercially unproductive, as they yield ostrich feathers, hides, and gum arabic.—*Times*, June 3, 1887.

**Manchuria Explored.**—An interesting paper was read at the meeting of the Royal Geographical Society, on Monday evening, June 6, by Mr. F. E. M. James, on his recent travels in Manchuria. The total area of this extensive district is about 380,000 square miles, greater than that of the Austrian Empire, Great Britain, and Ireland put together. It is divided into three provinces, Feng-tien, with 12,000,000 or 13,000,000 of inhabitants; Kirin, with about 8,000,000; and He-lung Kiang, Black Dragon River (the Chinese name for the Amur), with about 2,000,000. The administration is essentially a military one, and as in the two latter provinces, whither criminals are still banished, it is at once feeble and corrupt, they swarm with bad characters. Manchuria is essentially a highland country, traversed by ranges varying from 3,000 feet to 6,000 feet in height, and extending to the north into the Corea, and to the east into the Russian maritime province, as far as the Sea of Okhotsk. Winter, despite the extreme cold, is the best season for travelling, the roads, which, during the rest of the year, are miry and impracticable, being then macadamized by frost.

The crops grown are those which flourish in Northern China, particularly beans, millet, and poppy, the latter to such an extent as to have almost ousted the Indian drug, the imports of which, valued in 1866 at £572,000, had in 1885 declined to £31,000. Manchuria is believed to be rich in iron, silver, and gold, the latter being obtained by washing, while mining is a capital offence. The forests are extensive, containing pine, walnut, oak, and elm, and animals prized for their skins, such as sables and long-furred lynxes, abound in the mountains, which are haunted by tigers as well.

**Discovery of an Early Christian Cemetery at Alexandria.**—A Christian necropolis has been unearthed from beneath the sand-hills and rubbish-heaps lying right and left of the Ramleh line, about half-way between Alexandria and Mustapha Pasha Station. The City of Nicopolis, so-called from the victory of Augustus over Antony, stood somewhere here, and close by was a little domed building, where Sir Ralph Abercromby breathed his last. The Arabs, in digging for limestone, which they burn in extemporised kilns scattered about, constantly come upon fragments of sculpture, pottery, and other remains among the mounds, and in the same fashion a portion of the cemetery was uncovered. A Roman wall, evidently forming part of an enclosure, can be traced, running parallel to the railway for some distance before turning at right angles towards the sea, and a breach in its circuit gives access to a place where the natives have excavated two or three deep pits, about one hundred yards apart, and about fifty yards from the shore. In one of these a well was discovered, and close to it a doorway cut in the solid rock underlying the mounds. It gives access to an irregular crypt, surrounded by rock-cut *loculi*, measuring about nine feet in length, by four feet to six feet in width, and ranged one above

the other, in two, or sometimes three tiers, fifteen to the right and twenty-three to the left of the central passage. In each were found ten skeletons, apparently of men, the bones being very large. One skull was found to have a circumference of twenty-four inches, and in all the teeth were sound and firmly fixed in their sockets. In another pit, a long gallery was found with a similar set of *loculi* at one side only, and this led again by a blocked-up door into a similar passage, while in a third place was found another excavation, with tiers of *loculi* two or three deep. The only inscription as yet found is too fragmentary for translation, but a palm-branch and other half-obliterated Christian emblems have been traced on the roofs and walls. Terra-cotta lamps have been found with some of the skeletons, one showing an eight-pointed cross, another a priestly figure in the attitude of benediction, and some the letters I.H.S. It is probable that the whole area enclosed by the Roman wall is one vast cemetery, but the circumstances which led to the common burial of so many tall men in the prime of life remain for the present a mystery.

**Volcanic Eruption in Mexico.**—The continued seismic and volcanic disturbances in the Sierra Madre induced the Governor of Sonora to send exploring parties to investigate their cause. It appears from a New York telegram of June 8, that they report the outbreak of an active volcano in that range, fourteen miles south-east of Bapispé, the crater of which was emitting smoke, with fire and molten lava, while boiling streams from the sides of the mountain were destroying the vegetation of the neighbouring valleys.

**Scarcity in Burmah.**—The disturbed state of Upper Burmah has resulted in a considerable deficiency of the food supply. Rice has risen to an unprecedentedly high price, and there is a great scarcity of paddy throughout large areas of the Upper Province, extending, it is believed, to the Shan States. Not only were large stocks destroyed by the Dacoits, but, owing to their presence, a great deal of the land remained unsown, while difficulty of transport, largely diverted by military exigencies, aggravates the crisis. On the other hand, there is said to be no danger of actual famine, as money is plentiful and employment is being extensively given on public works. The supply of rice in Rangoon is reported to be sufficient, and the Irawadi Flotilla Company are engaged in carrying large supplies of food to the Upper Province, throughout which quantities of rice and flour have also been stored in the police stations.

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## Notes on Nobels.

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*Saracinesca.* By F. MARION CRAWFORD. Three vols. Edinburgh and London : William Blackwood & Sons. 1887.

THIS brilliant novel has two defects: it is too "instructive," and it does not finish. The former shortcoming is no doubt the cause of the latter. Mr. Crawford knows a good deal about Rome as it was under Cardinal Antonelli, and he thinks his information much too good to be thrown away; but the story is planned on such a large scale that nothing but the unlimited accommodation allowed to Madame de Scuderi would have taken it all in with the "instruction" unabridged. The innocent reader having learnt his lesson, and getting excited towards the third volume, wonders more and more how an ending can be rounded off before the pages "give out"; and he is rather angry when the author calmly says at p. 304, vol. iii.: "And so the curtain falls upon the first act." Still, we have a good deal that is well worth having. The introductory chapter, which describes Rome and Roman society in 1865, is bright and full of suggestion to those who knew (and regret) the days of Pius IX. The sketches of Roman society are vivid, but do not embrace a very wide field of observation; indeed, the writer is more fond of politics than of manners, and we are threatened with dark complications in the sequel which is promised. There are, however, one or two very life-like scenes from provincial life. The following bit of comedy occurs at Aquila, in the Abruzzi :

The Prince walked briskly along the broad, clean street, and reached the door of the church just as the sacristan was hoisting the heavy leatheren curtain, preparatory to locking up for the night.

"Where can I find the Padre Curato?" inquired the Prince. The man looked at him, but made no answer, and proceeded to close the doors with great care. He was an old man in a shabby cassock, with four days' beard on his face, and he appeared to have taken snuff recently.

"Where is the Curato?" repeated the Prince, plucking him by the sleeve. But the man shook his head, and began turning the ponderous key in the lock. Two little ragged boys were playing a game upon the church steps, piling five chestnuts in a heap, and then knocking them down with a small stone. One of them having upset the heap, desisted, and came near the Prince.

"That one is deaf," he said, pointing to the sacristan. Then running behind him, he stood on tiptoe and screamed in his ear "*Brutta bestia!*"

The sacristan did not hear, but caught sight of the urchin and made a lunge at him. He missed him, however, and nearly fell over.

"What education!—*che educazione!*" cried the old man angrily.

Meanwhile the little boy took refuge behind Saracinesca, and pulling his coat asked him for a *soldo*. The sacristan calmly withdrew the key from the lock and went away, without vouchsafing a look at the Prince.

"He is deaf," screamed the little boy, who was now joined by his companion, and both in great excitement danced round the fine gentleman.

"Give me a *soldo*," they yelled together.

"Show me the house of the Padre Curato," answered the Prince, "and I will give you each a *soldo*. *Lesti!* Quick!"

Whereupon both the boys began turning cart-wheels on their hands and feet with marvellous dexterity. At last they subsided into a natural position, and led the way to the Curato's house, not twenty yards from the church, in a narrow alley. The Prince pulled the bell by the long chain which hung beside the open street door, and gave the boys the promised coppers. They did not leave him, however, but stood by to see what would happen. An old woman looked out of an upper window, and after surveying the Prince with care, called down to him :

"What do you want?"

"Is the Padre Curato at home?"

"Of course he is at home," screamed the old woman. "At this hour!" she added, contemptuously.

"Ebbene—can I see him?"

"What! is the door shut?" returned the hag.

"No."

"Then why don't you come up without asking?" The old woman's head disappeared, and the window was shut with a clattering noise.

"She is a woman without education," remarked one of the ragged boys, making a face towards the closed window. (Vol. iii. 168-70.)

The heroine, the Duchesse d'Astrardente, is a sumptuous character; but the author falls into the snare of describing her emotions at far too great a length. Ten pages, such as we have in vol. ii. (132-141) are really too much for ordinary readers to master in the way of analysis. And we may add that in this book the analysis comes most copiously before we have begun to take any interest in the people analyzed. No doubt Mr. Crawford—we can see it when we get to the last pages—has been preparing foundations for a tremendous development of mental and spiritual events; but the reader is apt to resent being expected to assist in the process.

There is no specially Catholic or anti-Catholic atmosphere in the tale. The writer seems to sympathize with the position of Cardinal Antonelli, and with the temporal principedom generally. The Cardinal he introduces freely, putting long speeches into his mouth. One father confessor is brought in, and makes a creditable appearance. No other ecclesiastics make any figure in the book. The most interesting character is that of Prince Saracinesca himself, a man of sixty, rich, hale, good-hearted, hot-tempered, and never dull. But Mr. Crawford hardly seems to have been intimate with Roman gentlemen and ladies, or he would have given greater importance to the part which religion plays in their lives. Neither his grand princesses nor his somewhat pagan patricians are described with that certainty of touch that he would have shown had he seen things from the inside.

*The Old House in Picardy.* By KATHLEEN O'MEARA. London : Richard Bentley and Son. 1887.

MISS O'MEARA has given the novelty of French setting and scenery to a plot which has been the theme of many a ballad and romance, beginning with "Auld Robin Gray." The heroine of the

Scotch ditty has, however, a less elastic conscience than the mistress of "The Old House in Picardy;" for while the former clearly recognises that she "daurna think on Jamie, for that wad be a sin," the latter is led, of course under considerable pressure of circumstances, into a good deal of sentimental dalliance with her former lover, ending inevitably in the discovery of their relations by the irate husband. Death, always in fiction the obsequious instrument of the heroine's happiness under such circumstances, here performs his functions as an ally of Cupid with laudable promptitude, and as the superfluous husband has the good taste to leave his widow the uncontrolled possession of a vast fortune, the reunited lovers are left with every prospect of a bright future. That Miss O'Meara should have contrived to construct an interesting tale out of such threadbare materials is no small tribute to her narrative power and charm of style. The surroundings of the old house which gives the book its title, Diane's refuge when orphaned, and finally her married home, are picturesquely and gracefully realized, while its inmates form an interesting and original group of characters. The early part of the story, dealing with Diane's first experiences of life, is more attractive than that unfolding the later complications of her destiny, since there is something so repugnant in the position of a girl marrying through worldly necessity as necessarily to detach the reader's sympathy from her in any subsequent misfortunes.

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*Imaginary Portraits.* By WALTER PATER, M.A. London : Macmillan & Co. 1887.

THE four short stories comprised in the present volume have the same intangible charm that made "Marius the Epicurean" a book to be remembered. The vague and subtle touches by which the course of the narrative is rather indicated than expressed, have here, as in the larger work, a power of stimulating the imagination beyond that exercised by mere definiteness of detail. The secret of the charm escapes our analysis ; it is enough that it is there, and that it works in a potent fashion of its own. The unemotional character of that tranquil French scenery which forms the setting of two of the sketches in the present series, is conveyed with a felicitous mastery of language which suggests all the points it cannot enumerate. Thus, in one poetic sentence, we have the pre-eminence of the Alps forcibly put, by terming them "an apex of natural glory, towards which, in broadening spaces of light, the whole of Europe sloped upwards." The description of Auxerre, "the prettiest town in France," is equally happy, and it is made the setting for a strange and dreamy legend of a mediæval avatar of the classic Bacchus, the great Dionysiak myth being vaguely shadowed forth in the story of "Denys l'Auxerrois."

The two painters, Watteau and Sebastian Van Storck, are the heroes of two other studies, and the remaining one is concerned with the fortunes of a fantastic German princeling, Duke Carl Von Rosenmold.

*Chez Paddy.* By Baron E. DE MANDAT GRANCEY. Paris : Plon, Nourrit et Cie. 1887.

THE author, whose previous work on the Rocky Mountains was crowned by the French Academy, now describes his experiences during a visit to Ireland in 1886 with the same witty vivacity of style which makes his narratives of travel such pleasant reading. His view of Ireland is that of an unprejudiced foreigner, who, on political and social questions, listened to the arguments of both sides alike, while retaining his own independence of judgment as to the facts that came under his immediate observation. The misery of the lower classes in Dublin seems to have made a deep impression on him, and struck him as greater than that of even the most poverty-stricken rural districts. He contrasts it with that of such southern cities as Naples and Cadiz, where the cheering influences of climate make poverty less unendurable, and the unfailing sunshine consoles the proletarian for the absence of all other physical comforts. A visit to a boycotted family was among the author's experiences, and he draws a humorous picture of the incidents of daily life under these exceptional conditions. The present phase of Irish misery is regarded by him as part of the agrarian crisis induced all over Europe by modern facilities of transport, enabling the produce of the world to compete for its markets. The days of small culture, in his view, are numbered; agriculture, like all other industries, tending to concentration, in order to meet the change in circumstances by greater cheapness of production. The combination of capital with culture is therefore increasingly needed, and wherever rent is abolished, interest on debt speedily takes its place, as is proved by the example of all countries where peasant proprietorship has been suddenly created. Rent, as he points out, represents the original outlay of capital, as is established by the notorious fact, that in new countries, where gratuitous grants of land are given, a penniless farmer cannot cultivate it profitably.

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*Thyrza.* By GEORGE GISSING. London : Smith, Elder & Co. 1887.

THE author of "Demos" has made a decided advance in the present work, a powerful and well-conceived story of life among the London working-classes. The plot is throughout a satire on some forms of modern benevolence, since the philanthropic enthusiast, with his elaborate schemes for the amelioration of the lower classes, becomes the instrument of wrecking the lives of those he chiefly wishes to benefit. Thyrza, an impressionable and beautiful girl of the working-class, when on the eve of a marriage with a studious and refined artizan, is seized with an almost insane passion for Walter Egremont, her future husband's patron and benefactor, and though the latter suppresses all outward indication of the corresponding feeling she has awakened in him, the fulfilment of her engagement becomes an impossibility, and she leaves her home in despair. The further complications of her story and its tragical conclusion are

due to a surreptitiously overheard conversation, in which she hears Egremont proclaim his love for her and his intention of returning to claim her at the end of two years, during which she is confided to the guardianship of a charitable lady friend of his own. The natural result ensues ; he, believing himself bound to her by no tie of honour, and weaned by time and distance of his passion, is persuaded to relinquish his purpose, and Thyrza, always of nervously delicate health, dies of the disappointment. Her character is full of poetic grace and sentiment, and the attachment between her and her elder sister Lydia is touchingly portrayed. The *dramatis personæ* among the working-classes are all strongly and truthfully individualized ; but their superiors in the social scale are less happily delineated. The girl, who at the moment of accepting an offer of marriage, makes her lover feel her pulse to show that it is not quickened by a heart-beat, is surely a caricature even of modern philosophical young ladyhood.

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*The Golden Hope.* By W. CLARK RUSSELL. London : Hurst & Blackett. 1887.

THE appearance of a new ocean romance by Mr. Clark Russell is always a welcome event to his numerous admirers, and they are doubly to be congratulated on the present occasion, as in his latest work he has not only maintained, but in our opinion surpassed, his former level of excellence. The wonderful fertility of invention which enables him to vary indefinitely the seemingly monotonous theme of a sea-voyage was never more strikingly exemplified than in the present work, in which Malcolm Fortescue's cruise to the Indian Ocean is invested with the romance of a knightly quest and the mystery of a spiritual experience. A higher poetical interest is hereby wrought into Mr. Clark Russell's vivid narrative of marine adventure, and the eloquence of his descriptive passages becomes more appropriate as the setting of a loftier theme. The very improbability of the main incident on which the plot hinges, serves to display the imaginative intensity of style which makes such a situation seem credible. The agonizing suspense of the last hours of the voyage, when the truth of the hero's prophetic vision is about to be tested, is portrayed with thrilling power, and the gradual approach to the dream-seen island is a masterpiece of dramatic realism. After this culminating event the interest might naturally be expected to flag, but it is fully sustained by the further development of the plot ; and the homeward voyage is detailed with a spirit and life which carry the reader triumphantly to the end of the third volume.

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*Miss Bayle's Romance.* London : R. Bentley & Son. 1887.

"MISS BAYLE'S" experiences are those of an American young lady, who, glorified by a combined halo of beauty and dollars, has what she is pleased to term "a real good time" on this side of the Atlantic. Indeed, the monotonously ascending scale of her fortunes, culminating in the apotheosis of the peerage, and a wedding

beatified by royal gifts of a Cashmere shawl and the "Journal in the Highlands," somewhat palls upon the reader's interest, and he would be thankful for the intervention of one of even the most hackneyed of the conventional impediments which are supposed to delay the heroine's final entry into the haven of matrimony. The writer, who does not choose to reveal his identity on the title-page, has the command of a sparkling style, which enlivens the narration of incidents commonplace in themselves, and differing little from the ordinary experiences of travel. The career and character of an American millionaire are graphically sketched, with such obvious fidelity to truth as to suggest their being borrowed rather from real life than from fancy; and we cannot say that the picture of the doings of the typical "smart man" is very creditable to the commercial morality of the New World. His daughter Alma, with her lively intelligence, her racy Western State phraseology, and her natural wish to please and be pleased, is a more agreeable and equally characteristic specimen of the transplanted Anglo-Saxon variety of humanity.

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*Sabina Zembla.* By WILLIAM BLACK. London:  
Macmillan & Co. 1887.

MR. BLACK'S new novel, despite its fantastic name, has less of sentiment and more of everyday life than the greater number of his previous works. To begin with, the principal scene is neither laid in the Highlands nor anywhere even within view of the coast of Scotland, but in the dingy streets of the Metropolis; consequently there is little scope for those picturesque descriptions of Nature strewn a little too lavishly over some of Mr. Black's former pages. There is more of humanity, and it is humanity of a more definitely outlined type, showing, too, more of its seamy side than we are accustomed to be introduced to by the author of "A Princess of Thule." The heroine, though a little over-belauded by the author and an admiring chorus of friends, has a well-marked individuality in her high-purposed wilfulness, leading to a disastrous ending. The daughter of Sir Anthony Zembla, a purse-proud millionaire, she leads a life of her own, devoted to works of beneficence and active philanthropy. Her charity, indeed, becomes her bane, for it is as the victim of a street accident, originally picked up and tended out of pure benevolence, that she makes the acquaintance of the worthless horse-jockey, Fred. Foster, whom without adequate motive she allows herself to be persuaded into marrying. This *mesalliance* brings on a well-deserved retribution, the working out of which by the author is perhaps the best part of the book. The doings and dealings of the jockey and his associates are full of life and spirit; and Foster, in all phases of his career and misfortunes, remains a perfectly natural and well-realized character. Of course he is not allowed permanently to intervene between the heroine and the happiness awaiting her in the devoted attachment of the hero, Walter Lindsay, but the incidents by which the result is sufficiently deferred are well imagined and narrated.

*Margaret Jermine.* By FAYR MADOC. London : Macmillan & Co. 1886.

THE author of "Margaret Jermine" has the art of writing three readable volumes about commonplace personages, and keeping up the reader's interest in their doings to the end. His central situation is a little over-strained, and the position of his heroine, destined to a loveless life by the crotchet of a half-crazy father, and believing herself bound to celibacy by his deathbed injunctions, is difficult to harmonize with the surroundings of everyday life. Of course the inevitable result ensues: she falls in love, and is compelled to refuse her suitor. The discovery of a subsequent letter of her father's, modifying the stringency of his earlier mandates, releases her too late; her lover has already taken a masculine revenge for her refusal by marrying another lady, and she has only the consolation of assisting him in his last moments, when he dies in her arms from the effects of a tragical accident. The secondary characters are brightly and humorously drawn, and there is a great deal of lively and amusing by-play. We must, however, protest against a grotesque style of nomenclature, which has neither wit nor meaning, and seems borrowed from the nursery. The constant invocation of one of the female characters as "My Minimy-my" jars on the reader's sense of congruity, and is a sensible blot on the otherwise graceful and animated style of the narrative.

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## *Notices of Catholic Continental Periodicals.*

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### GERMAN PERIODICALS.

By Canon BELLESHEIM, Aachen.

#### 1. *Katholik.*

"Cardinal Franzelin" is the title of an interesting article contributed by a pupil of that great scholar and prince of the Church whose dogmatic treatises will long perpetuate his name and fame. Besides giving a sketch of the deceased prelate's life, the writer treats judiciously of the method adopted by the Cardinal in his treatment of dogmatic theology. It is interesting to note that the news reaches us at this moment from Rome that the manuscript of an unpublished work, *De Ecclesia*, by the Cardinal has been found, and hopes are entertained that it will be published in the course of this year. The Cardinal's life was throughout one of continuous prayer and study, carried out in the spirit of words which he wrote, when a novice, in a small book: "Doctrine, indeed, is a great boon, and talents are necessary; but superior to both of them is virtue. What is truly praiseworthy in a Jesuit is to be as solidly learned as deeply virtuous."

Dr. Späth treats of St. Thomas's teaching as to the nature of bodies,

teaching which the modern developments of natural science have wonderfully confirmed. Another instructive article is headed "Interment during the Middle Ages." It treats of Christian sepulture in the ages of faith, with the result of establishing the wide gulf between Christian practice and the modern one of cremation. Father Baümer, a Benedictine of Maredsous, contributes a suggestive and thoughtful paper on "Vespers and Lauds, their origin in the time of the Apostles, and their relation to the morning and evening sacrifice of the synagogue." He describes lauds and vespers as originating with the Apostles, who, in establishing these solemn praises of God, adopted an institute already introduced by Moses. There are some striking texts drawn from the works of the most ancient Fathers, in which they give strong testimony to the prevailing custom of lauds and vespers being solemnly offered in the early Church. On one point I would demur from our author's opinion. He holds that the "Teaching of the Twelve Apostles" was written in the middle of the first century. If that were true, it would certainly push back the date of most of the books of the New Testament. The "Teaching" is generally attributed to the end of the first or the middle of the second century.

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## 2. *Historisch-politische Blätter.*

"The History of Ireland from the Reformation to the Nineteenth Century," by Dr. Hassenkamp, is treated of at length in two articles. The author's purpose in his work is with the political history of Ireland, the ecclesiastical history being only incidentally treated; his articles are marked by sound judgment in appreciating the currents of Irish politics, while the treatment experienced by the sister island at the hands of England is carefully described. At the same time it is evident that had the author more intimate familiarity with *Irish Catholic* literature than is usual in our country, he would have been able to pass a much more favourable judgment than he does on the Nuncio Rinuccini. No one treating of this portion of Irish history can afford to dispense with the documents collected by Cardinal Moran in the third volume of his "Spicilegium Ossoriense."

Another series of articles which well deserves mention is "The Oxford Movement." German Protestants not seldom shape the history of that momentous event which, in a certain sense, has changed the face of England, according to their own prejudiced religious views, rather than according to that reality which is recognized by the unprejudiced inquirer. An article contributed by Dr. Schöll to Herzog's (Protestant) "Real Encyklopädie," which disfigures facts and persons connected with the memorable Oxford movement, gave rise to the essays of the present anonymous contributor. This last is thoroughly conversant with English literature, and in tracing Cardinal Newman's part in the movement, he quotes largely the Cardinal's own words, as well as the numerous books treating of it written by others. I wish the writer had brought out

more prominently that a gulf separates the Tractarians from modern Ritualists, whose rebellion against the bishops of the Establishment is scarcely inferior to their opposition to the Pope. Lastly, must be noticed two most valuable articles giving extracts from the late Count Beust's Memoirs, concerning the Vatican Council as viewed and opposed by the Austrian statesmen. The future historian of the Council will do well to employ these Memoirs as serving to illustrate how the wisdom of the world is confounded by the action of God.

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### *3. Stimmen aus Maria Laach.*

"A Modern Theory of Revelation" is discussed by Father Langhorst in an able article. He puts to the rigid test of philosophy and theology "The Philosophy of Religion," by Dr. Pfeiderer, Professor of Protestant Theology in the University of Berlin. In that book the time-honoured idea of revelation as a direct and immediate communication between God and his creature is solemnly set aside, and its place given to a new system based on Darwin's theory of development:—whatever exists is subject to the inevitable law of change and development, religious truth enjoying no exemption from the universal rule. Thus Professor Pfeiderer comes to place the revelation of the true God side by side with the most shocking superstitions. In a word, every religion whatever is only a step in the evolutionary process to which man is subject. Father Langhorst appropriately styles this system of religious philosophy and philosophical religion "Pyrrhonismus redivivus"—in other words, the plainest confession of despair of attaining the possession of truth. Joseph von Eichendorf, the eminent Catholic poet, once said: "Only when men ceased to believe did they begin to apply philosophy to religion."

F. Kneller writes on the character of the two first persecutions of the Christian religion. The results he arrives at are, briefly, that Nero and Domitian waged war on Christianity as a religious system; hence they were really persecutors of Christians, and those Christians who fell under them were truly martyrs; the persecution originated by the two Emperors was proclaimed by general edicts, and so spread into the provinces of the empire; which three points are testified to by Christian antiquity, and even by any heathen writers who touched on the subject. Hence the attempts of some modern German historians to establish the contrary must be pronounced totally abortive.

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### *4. Zeitschrift für katholische Theologie.*

Father Duhr gives the concluding article on Father Edward Petre, the privy councillor of King James II. He passes a deservedly severe sentence on the so-called "Memoirs of James II," and shows that the numerous accusations and calumnies against Father Petre are quite destitute of foundation. Real, indisputable facts, to support such charges, are looked for in vain. Dr. Schmid discusses

recent theories on the interpretation of the Bible, noticing in this connection Cardinal Newman's article published some years ago. The author animadverts severely on a system of interpretation adopted by a French Catholic apologist of our time, and strongly opposes the general principle, viz., that in purely scientific questions unconnected with religion, biblical interpretation cannot arrive at incontestable conclusions, and that in questions not subject to the authoritative explanation of the Church, one may adopt allegorical explanations wherever the literal sense seems to be obscure. The author shows this principle to be at variance with the doctrine and practice of the Church.

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#### ITALIAN PERIODICALS.

*La Civiltà Cattolica*, 15 Gennaio, 1887.

**The Nebuchodonosor of Judith.**—In this number appears a third article on the Nebuchodonosor of Judith. This book, it will be remembered, begins by relating how Arphaxad, King of the Medians, after subjugating many nations, built the powerful city of Ecbatana. Here the Greek version slightly differs from the Vulgate in that it states that Arphaxad, reigning over the Medes in Ecbatana, built at Ecbatana and around it the great walls of square stones, of which the description follows, as in the Vulgate. But it is easy to reconcile the two statements, as the term "built" employed in the Vulgate does not, in biblical language, necessarily mean an original foundation. Thus, for instance, we find Nebuchodonosor the Great boasting, "Is not this the great Babylon which I have built to be the seat of the kingdom?" although Babylon had existed for many centuries, and even as the seat of the kingdom—that is, the royal residence and metropolis of a great State. Nebuchodonosor, however, embellished and fortified it, so that it was as a new city; and this was probably what Arphaxad, whom the reviewer identifies with Fravartish or Phraazad, who was subdued and put to death by the King of Assyria, did for Ecbatana.

Having satisfactorily explained some seeming discrepancies in the few ancient historians who have mentioned this city, the writer concludes that the period of Ecbatana's greatness must be referred to the beginning of the seventh century before Christ, a point which the absence of all adverse monumental records serves to confirm. This being established, since the events recorded in Judith occurred soon after the death of Asphaxad, it follows that the Nebuchodonosor of this book, the conqueror of the Median king, must also have flourished in the seventh century before the Christian era. Now, as the reviewer had shown in his previous article, seven of the pretenders who have been put forward fail to fulfil this condition. Of the three remaining, Asarhaddon must be rejected, if only on account of the shortness of his reign. Merodach Baladan, favoured by Bellarmine, is also inadmissible, never having been king of Ninive. In Bellarmine's

time the cuneiform Assyrian inscriptions, which throw so much light on the history of these kings and their deeds, had not been discovered. Assurbanipal remains, accordingly, master of the field. He ascended the throne of Nineveh in 668, and, as he reigned forty years, he satisfies admirably all the required historical conditions.

The writer having disposed of Nineveh in a previous article, and of Ecbatana in the present, proceeds to discuss the vital question of the Temple at Jerusalem. It is vital, because upon the existence of the Temple at the time of the events related in the book of Judith must finally depend the chronological question at issue, whether they took place before or after the Babylonian captivity. Abundant passages of that book, in which both the Vulgate and the Greek entirely coincide, and to which the reviewer refers, would put the matter beyond the reach of controversy, and establish as an incontrovertible fact, that in Judith's day the Temple of Jerusalem existed in all its splendour no less than at any other period of the four centuries which elapsed from Solomon to Sedecias, but for a text in the Septuagint which the maintainers of the opposite opinion have alleged in its support. Excellent reasons, however, exist for regarding this text as an interpolation. St. Jerome evidently viewed it in that light, since he excluded it from the Vulgate. Bellarmine notices this rejection, and concludes therefrom that the text is supposititious, and as such *non debet movere quemquam*, ought to have no influence with any one; adding that it was, perhaps, this passage which was the means of leading into error on this point so many learned doctors. The reviewer adheres to Bellarmine's view, not only on account of his high authority, but for the solid reasons he adduces for holding it.

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19 Marzo, 1887.

Another article on this subject has since appeared. It is devoted to the special examination of the Greek text, upon which the opinion has been grounded that the events related in the Book of Judith occurred subsequently to the Babylonian Captivity. In his previous articles the Reviewer has given sound reasons for referring them to the days of Manasses, when Assurbanipal was king of Assyria, and reigned in the powerful city of Ecbatana. There is an expression, however, in the Greek text with regard to the Temple, in Achior's speech to Holofernes, which, it is urged, implies its total destruction and the carrying away of the inhabitants of Jerusalem into captivity. The parallel passage in the Vulgate has no mention whatever of the Temple, and what Achior says of the reverses and captivity of the people of Israel when they offended their God, and in particular of the recent calamities they had suffered, can be easily, and indeed more easily, explained without any reference to the Babylonian captivity. Bellamine says that the insertion in the Septuagint is clearly spurious. That it is of no value may be easily proved; and it must be remembered that it forms the solitary argument for the above-mentioned view. First, then, it is a significant fact that St. Jerome did not admit it, from which we must conclude either

that he did not find it in the original Chaldee from which he made his faithful translation, or, if it occurred in any of the numerous codices from which he himself states, in his preface to the Book of Judith *varietatem vitiosissimam amputavi*, he rejected it, as belonging to that class. 2. The phrase would be in open contradiction to five other passages in the book, which are extant in both versions. This alone would be enough to discredit it as an interpolation. 3. But further, it is at variance even with the verse immediately following it, which says that the Hebrews had re-occupied Jerusalem, "where is their sanctuary"—the same sanctuary which the previous verse had declared to have been levelled with the ground. It is well known how the Hebrews on their return found indeed nothing but a mass of ruins where the Temple had stood. It is also at variance with a passage existing only in the Greek, in which allusion is made, not to the rebuilding of the Temple, but to its resanctification from the pollution and contamination it had suffered. These and other proofs alleged proceed upon the supposition that the words used in the disputed passage in the Septuagint must of necessity imply a complete levelling of the Temple to the ground; but there have not been wanting interpreters who pointed out that the same forcible expressions are used in some other parts of Scripture, where only partial injury, accompanied by desecration, had been sustained. But upon this the Reviewer lays no great stress, for the phrase in question, however understood, cannot avail, when confronted with others, to prove that Judith flourished before the Babylonian captivity.

To these reasons must be added another, of a different order, but of a very convenient character—viz., the state of Samaria as described in Judith's time, which is utterly irreconcilable with that which subsisted on the return of the Jews from the captivity, when, as we know, they had no more bitterly hostile neighbours than the Samaritans. But in the Book of Judith Samaria is described as most friendly and brotherly, and its people are called "children of Israel." Their aid is solicited, their prayers implored, and they are represented as rejoicing with Juda after the death of Holofernes, and the discomfiture and flight of the Assyrian host. In short, we are in quite another world to that which we find represented in the days of Esdras and Nehemia. Plainly the Ten Tribes were as yet dwelling in their land, and between them and the tribes of Juda and Benjamin perfect anity subsisted. The conclusion, then, at which the Reviewer arrives, is that the last and recent captivity mentioned by Achior was that of Manasses, king of Juda, recorded in 2 Paralip. xxxii. 11. This interpretation in fact, and this alone, will be found to satisfy all the texts in the Book of Judith, whether regarding the Hebrew people or the Assyrian empire. However, the Reviewer promises us yet another article to demonstrate his assertion with still more fulness.

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7 Maggio, 1887.

**The Roman Question.**—This number of the *Civiltà Cattolica* contains an admirable and elaborate reply to the letter of the

Senator Carlo Cadorna, President of the Royal Council, which was given in the *Popolo Romano* of 26th March, but had originally appeared in the *Deutsche Revue* of Dresden. The letter was not, in fact, intended for Italians, or it would not have been written in French; neither was it intended for the French, or it would have been sent to a French paper. We may conclude, then, that it was written specially for the benefit of the two empires—German and Austro-Hungarian. Its topic may be thus stated: Leo XIII. had, by the pen of his Secretary of State, signified to the German Catholic deputies that, taking to heart the intolerable situation in which the august Head of the Church is placed, they might avail themselves of favourable opportunities to give expression, by their votes, to the feelings and wishes of their Catholic countrymen in favour of the Sovereign Pontiff. Lately, also, by the advice he gave concerning the Septenate, he showed that he considered that a fresh occasion had presented itself of making himself acceptable to the Emperor of Germany and to Prince Bismarck. On the other hand, looking only to its own interests, which are identified with those of Catholics, the Holy See could not let any opportunity escape which might incline the powerful German Emperor to favour a future improvement in its situation. Cadorna says that it is clear, and that Cardinal Jacobini ingenuously confessed as much, that the Sovereign Pontiff's intervention was not determined by the religious interests of Germany alone, but by the hopes of recovering the temporal dominion of Rome. The writer of the letter is evidently apprehensive lest the German Emperor should be induced to seek a mode of assuring to the Supreme Pontiff a sovereign independence. It is true that he sneers at the very notion, and can see no such peril; but of this we may believe as much or as little as we like. The letter is plainly not meant for a confutation of the "clericals," nor for the enlightenment of the Italians: its object can only be to deter the German Government, and consequently the German Catholics, who might bring their influence to bear upon it, from attending to the Pope's desires. Cadorna's argument may be summed up under the following heads: First, he says, give no heed to the Pope's lamentations, because he is moved solely by the ambition to be Sovereign of Rome. Secondly, follow the example of the Italian Government, and do not mind them, because, as in past days, with time and patience, the Pontiff's opposition will be overcome. Thirdly, as we—[that is, he and his friends, Cadorna here affecting to speak as a sound Catholic]—as we do not confound the political question with the religious, so also must not you, but abstain from entering on the Roman question, which is altogether political. Fourthly, the conscience of the Pope is opposed to that of the Italians, and to the latter you must conform yourselves; and all the more, because the Italians are more Catholic than you are. Fifthly, the Roman question is dead and buried; therefore, you cannot and ought not to trouble yourselves about it. Sixthly, none of the Powers is occupying itself about it, and if any attacked us, it would get the worst of it. However, as regards friendly Germany and friendly Austria, there

is no reason to suspect the slightest velleity to bring any pressure to bear on the matter.

To all these points the Reviewer triumphantly replies: his reply is, indeed, quite a little treatise, to which we can but refer the reader, having no space to do more than give the headings, and cull two or three remarks. Cadorna says that the Pope's principal pre-occupation is to recover the sovereignty of Rome, placing this object above all religious interests, and thus any reclamations made by him on this latter head are deprived of all serious value. The Reviewer replies that, in the first place, no mention of the Pope's desire to regain the sovereignty of Rome was made in Cardinal Jacobini's letter; but, supposing it were so, what then? Cadorna is pleased to say that the Holy Father desires it through ambition. If the Pope desired the sovereignty of Rome for its own sake, this would be an ambition contrary to the spirit which ought to actuate the Vicar of Christ. But if this sovereignty is necessary as the means to an end at which he is bound to aim with all his strength, to desire and to love it is to desire and love that end, which not only cannot be called ambition, but is a holy and just zeal for the glory of God. The decree of Jesus Christ making St. Peter the foundation-stone of His Church was accomplished in Rome. St. Peter is Bishop of Rome, and thus the Roman Church is the Church of Jesus Christ. The Church of Rome is the trunk of that vine which, having its roots in Rome, spreads its branches throughout the world. The other Churches, each having a Bishop at its head, form, indeed, part of the Church of Christ, but only as aggregated to the Roman. Rome, then, is the head of the world, upon which the obligation lies of being Christian—that is, of receiving its life from Rome, and, with Rome and under Rome, tending to its great ultimate end. But can Rome fulfil its divine mission if idolatry, heresy, atheism, dominate therein, and if, instead of receiving the breath of its life from Peter, it receives it from antichristian rulers? The necessity which binds Rome to be mistress in faith and Christian morality, entails the necessity of its being exclusively subject to the Roman Pontiff. The same cannot be said of the rest of the Papal dominions, however sacred, legitimate, and inalienable is the Holy Father's right to them; but the sovereign domination of Rome is required by the very character of the Roman Church itself.

The Reviewer well exposes the affected gravity with which Cadorna ventures to affirm, in the face of all that is passing around him, so palpable an untruth as that the Roman question is dead and buried, and that none can be better convinced than are "we Italians"—for he pretends to speak in the name of the mass of his compatriots—that all that is needed is time, to put a stop to the Pope's lamentations for the loss of his temporal power. With the same facility, the writer confutes the assertion that the Roman question is purely political, of which absurdity Cadorna again maintains that "we Italians" are convinced, and only begs the Germans and other outsiders to be equally so. The concluding observations on Cadorna's erroneous doctrine concerning conscience, which savours greatly of Protestantism, are well worth notice.

21 Maggio, 1887.

Since the above was written the *Civiltà Cattolica* has issued an interesting article on the different proposals made for the solution of the Roman question, with its own replies. We desire to call the reader's attention to it, treating as it does of the most momentous topic of the hour, but can do little more. Such of the Liberalistic party as retain any prudence have begun to fear lest the state to which the Pope is reduced should end in the common ruin, and are possessed by a strong presentiment that, if something be not done in the way of rendering justice to him, Italy will fare badly. Hence the various proposals of conciliation of which we have lately heard a good deal. Of these the *Opinione* of Rome has published the most curious. There is no good in any of them save the admissions they severally make. One and all err by considering that *accomplished facts* must be accepted, and the Pope's liberty and independence secured by some other means than that which alone would be either acceptable or effectual—viz., the restoration to him of what is essentially his own, and without which he cannot be free: the full and undivided sovereignty of Rome. Toscanelli's proposal would simply enlarge his prison by giving him a piece of ground where he could have his religious houses and receive foreign ambassadors—a sacred and inviolate Rome alongside of the Rome of which he has been robbed; so that, remaining bishop of both, there would be two Romes: one in which he was privileged and obeyed, and another in which he was opposed and dishonoured.

It must have been a very simple soul which put forth another whimsical proposal, that the Holy Father should doctrinally rule that a civil principality is incompatible with the exercise of his spiritual authority. Fazzari's letter, which appeared recently in the *Nazione*, being merely a reply to one written in the name of the *Unione Conservatrice* of Turin, does not specify the conditions of the reconciliation he desires. The Reviewer, therefore, can only say that if, as he appears to indicate, his scheme, like the rest, is to be based on accomplished facts, it may be also dismissed as a dream. Fazzari thinks that the arrangement ought to be made without the intervention of Parliament, and solely between the King and the Sovereign Pontiff. This also, the writer says, is a mere chimera, considering the position occupied by the monarchy in Italy, where it is altogether constitutional and parliamentary. Fazzari says that "the monarchy of Savoy had found itself under the necessity of combating the temporal power of the Pope till 1870." Whence this supposed "necessity" arose he must very well know. The sects who invented it could easily create another to strike down the monarchy, if it tried to reconcile itself with the Pope independently of Parliament.

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POLITICAL SCIENCE QUARTERLY. MARCH 1887.

This American periodical keeps up to the high level on which it started, and knows how to treat political and economical questions with a calmness that is most refreshing in the present heated state

of our domestic controversies. Those interested in colonial politics will do well to read the clear and impartial article on Louis Riel's rebellions. I wonder how many Englishmen are aware that the decision in Riel's case established the plenary authority of the Dominion Parliament, or how many have realized that by vesting in the Colonial Legislature the power to define and regulate the trial of treasonable offences, a serious step has been taken toward weakening the union between the colony and the mother country.

Professor Theodore Dwight gives a good literary paper on the once famous political writer of the Commonwealth, James Harrington. But though many of his suggestions were adopted in the political institutions of America at the end of the following century, such as rotation of magistrates, secret ballot, and separation of the various powers of government, we must not rate him too high; for in the main he was a dreamer and a Constitution-monger. As Professor Dwight says: "The prime feature of Harrington's scheme is that a government can be made to run for ever, if there is only good machinery, well oiled, and of the most approved pattern." Then, after citing some of Harrington's suggestions, he pathetically adds—and all who know the political condition of America can add with him—"Alas, we have tried nearly all of these, and is our system of government yet perfect or absolutely secure? . . . With them we have passed with difficulty and sorrow through the most tremendous civil war the world has ever seen. We have seen abundance of corruption in office, and fraud in the ballot-box. We are conscious of dangerous forces in society which none of these political services have any tendency to remove."

This example might teach us sobriety in our estimate of the importance of Constitutions, and not to hope or fear too much from changes in government machinery, when the real point of supreme interest is whether the force that works the machinery is religious or irreligious. We can also learn sobriety of judgment from the three interesting articles on legal reform. No doubt there is a great need of reform both in England and America, and we suffer from the expense, the delays, and the uncertainty of law much more than is at all necessary. But a man must be either very young or very simple if he thinks the mischief is all due to the lawyers, and that the remedy is first to hang them all, as Jack Cade proposed, and then to publish a nice little code, both criminal and civil, in popular language, so that all can understand it, and so plain that no legal quibbling can distort its meaning. In reality a complicated society requires a complicated law, and the greater the wealth and culture of a people, the more the need of scientific as opposed to rough-and-ready law; the more, therefore, the need of a learned class to master it. For you cannot master science without study. Hence, too, the need of technical terms, which are none the worse if they are in late Latin or old French. Listen to the following excellent passage from Professor Munroe Smith:

Every doctor of theology or medicine, every scientific man, every artist, every tradesman and every mechanic uses in his own science or

business technical terms which are unintelligible to the outsider. Even when the term is explained, it is quite likely that the outsider will not understand the explanation, because it involves the understanding of other things unknown to him, the knowledge of which is part of the science or craft in question. Now all these people use technical terms for the same reason that the lawyer uses them—because they need terms of definite meaning. This necessity, felt in the simplest trade, is greatest in the sciences. And yet all these people demand that the law, the oldest and perhaps the most complex of sciences, shall speak the language of the hearth and the street. . . . Not a few lawgivers have shared such a delusion, and have attempted to 'popularize' the law. The result has always been the same. As soon as a set of new, vague, and 'popular' terms is bundled into the written law, the courts proceed to give them by construction, that definiteness of meaning which legal science requires, and which in fact the people themselves demand, for the people demand that law shall be certain: that is, a set of new technical terms is constructed.

And he points to California as an example of this, California being one of the nine American States that have departed furthest from the English common law and approached nearest to the civil codes of the Continent. Let me end with the hope that this excellent American periodical may do something towards inducing our lawyers and statesmen here at home to study the laws and constitutions of the forty-seven legislative bodies, with powers more or less sovereign, comprised within the boundaries of the United States.

C. S. DEVAS.

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## Notices of Books.

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*The History of St. Cuthbert.* By CHARLES, Archbishop of Glasgow. Third Edition. London: Burns & Oates, Limited. New York: Catholic Publication Society Co. 1887.

THIS new edition of a valuable and well-known book has been eagerly looked for. Now that it has appeared there will be some disappointment that it differs so very slightly from its predecessors. Archbishop Eyre says frankly in his short preface: "It was in the hopes of the writer to be able to add some new matter, and to give a better translation of the passages quoted from 'Bedo's Life.' Unfortunately he has not been able to find time to do the one or the other. All that he has been able to do has been to make a very few verbal alterations, and to insert into the text a number of notes that formed an Appendix in the previous editions. With these exceptions this edition is just a reprint of the two others, with many shortcomings and very little merit." These expressions entirely disarm criticism; and we may add that they are likely to do

the illustrious author injustice. Archbishop Eyre's "History of St. Cuthbert," which he first published as a young Northumbrian priest some forty years ago, is a work which may without affectation be called "monumental"; that is, it is so complete, so honest, and so lovingly put together that it will never be superseded. It is a matter for congratulation that this third edition reproduces the admirable form and get-up of the original issue—the large paper, the fine print, the maps and illustrations, and the exquisite title-page. The book shows in every page the enthusiasm of one to whom St. Cuthbert and ancient Northumbria, St. Cuthbert's fortunes, the great Church of Durham, and the modern College of Ushaw, are dear and cherished themes, on which no amount of patient research can be thrown away. He follows him from his birth on the borders of Scotland to old Melrose, to Ripon, to Lindisfarne; then to his hermitage on Farne, opposite the royal fortress of Bamborough; to York, where he received episcopal consecration; and lastly, back again to his lonely cell to die. He describes and carefully maps out that "Holy Island" which is to the North of England what Iona is to Western Scotland; he traces the lines of his solitary hut on the rock amidst the waves of the North Sea. Using the very words of Venerable Bede, and of that anonymous Lindisfarne monk who was Bede's contemporary, he makes us feel the simplicity and the antique beauty of a saintly character which blossomed amid the rough surroundings of ancient Northumbria. He narrates the marvellous fortunes of the Saint's Body, enabling the reader, by the aid of an admirable map, to see at a glance how it was borne by a faithful band from point to point along the Western coast as far as the Mersey, and thence through the Lancashire and Yorkshire hills to the valley of the Swale and the Tees, till it rested finally in "Durham's Gothic shade." He describes with great minuteness the various openings of St. Cuthbert's tomb, and the unmistakable proofs on each occasion that the holy Body was incorrupt; concluding with an interesting examination of the account given by Raine of what occurred when the place where the Saint used to rest in Catholic times was searched by Protestants in 1827. Throughout the volume authorities are fully referred to and often textually cited; and there is an excellent list of sources, with a very complete verbal index.

Since Archbishop Eyre brought out his first edition, Montalembert has published the third, fourth, and fifth volumes of his "Moines d'Occident." He briefly refers to Lindisfarne and to St. Cuthbert, and, as we think, does injustice both to the Saint and to the great Archbishop Theodore, to whom the English Church is so largely indebted. When St. Cuthbert was appointed to the See of Lindisfarne by St. Theodore, there is no doubt that St. Wilfrid was the rightful Bishop of York, and that his See included Northumbria. But when we remember that the headstrong Egfrith had so quarrelled with St. Wilfrid that nothing would induce him to let him stay in Northumbria, surely Theodore, in his legatine power, was entitled to provide for the wide missionary districts which were left without a

pastor, and which were so vast that St. Wilfrid himself, later on, agreed that they should be partitioned. Doubtless Pope Agatha upheld St. Wilfrid's appeal; but it does not appear that Theodore was a party with the savage king in rejecting the Pope's decree. And that very decree, whilst re-installing Wilfrid, enjoined a division of the huge diocese. The proof that this view is the correct one is, that as soon as Egfrith was dead, St. Theodore sent for St. Wilfrid, and arranged everything amicably with him; St. Wilfrid going back to York, but the division of the more northern portion of the diocese still holding good. We draw attention to this because Protestant writers are apt to follow a brilliant Catholic historian like Montalembert.\* Among the few improvements which Archbishop Eyre might have made, had he been permitted, would be a somewhat more distinct reference of St. Cuthbert's episcopate to its place in the general history of Northumbria and of England. Few pictures are more suggestive than the Synod of Twyford on the Aln—the Archbishop leaves its exact locality indeterminate, but surely no one who has seen the ancient Mote-hill at Alnmouth can doubt—and the deputation which sailed over the North Sea to find St. Cuthbert in Farne. The hand of Rome was visibly stretched out to press into the service of the Church of God one of the children of St. Columba. In times not long past the Scottish monks had shown themselves neither docile nor sociable; but Divine Providence was at work, and the monk of Tarsus, representing the Roman authority and the traditions of the universal Church, standing on the bleak and wild coast where they had made their habitation, constrained them with gentle and masterful management to forego everything but their virtues and their devotedness, and to join their hearts with his. There can be little doubt that the career of St. Cuthbert, though his episcopate lasted only two years, promoted the Catholic unity of the North more powerfully than that of any other man, even Wilfrid or Bennet Biscop. "Have peace and divine charity amongst you," he said, when he lay dying. ". . . Be unanimous. . . . Let there be mutual concord between yourselves and all other servants of Christ. . . . Receive all hospitably. . . . Carefully observe the Catholic institutions of the Fathers." This exhortation was carried out, and for 188 years there was peace and Catholic progress in Northumbria, St. Cuthbert's body lying tranquilly in the rocky soil of Holy Island.

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*Vetus Testamentum Graece iuxta LXX. Interpretis.* Ed. VAL LOCH,  
S.T.D. et Professor Em. in Lyceo Bambergensi. Ratisbon:  
1886.

THIS edition of the Septuagint has been brought out by the ex-Professor of S. Scripture in the Seminary of Bamberg, to commemorate the tercentenary of Sixtus V.'s decree ordering the publication of the Septuagint, which had been preparing for sixteen

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\* See, for example, Mr. Green in his "Making of England," p. 375; and Canon Ormsby, "Diocesan Histories: York," p. 62

years. Like that famous edition, of which it is practically a reprint, it is preceded by Cardinal Carafa's dedication, by the preface of the Roman editors, and by the Papal Decree. It is taken from the Vatican Codex, the gaps in that MS. being supplied from the Alexandrine and from the Polyglot Bibles. This is not the place to insist upon the great and increasing importance attached by modern biblical students to the Septuagint as a means of approaching the original text; nor to the great assistance it affords towards understanding the Vulgate. We need only remark that the convenient size and arrangement of this edition make it the most suitable for all who do not need an *apparatus criticus*. The paper is good, the type very fair, while the extremely low price (five shillings) at which it is issued brings it within the reach of all to whom it is likely to be of service.

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*Our Divine Saviour, and other Discourses.* By the Right Rev. J. C. HEDLEY, O.S.B., Bishop of Newport and Menevia. London : Burns & Oates ; New York : Catholic Publication Society Co.

A VOLUME of sermons by the Bishop of Newport will need no word of ours to commend it to the readers of the DUBLIN REVIEW. To such extent as we have space available at the late time when the volume reaches us, we propose to give a few extracts by way of illustrating the character of the discourses. The extracts lose some of their force when detached—for the discourses are planned with admirable progression of effect so that each one of them has quite its own separate value as a whole—but probably they will still convey something of the impression which they emphatically make upon us as we read them in their context. A distinct and noteworthy feature of these sermons is, we certainly think, their freshness—freshness of thought, treatment and style; nowhere do we meet pulpit commonplace or hackneyed phrase—everywhere, on the contrary, it is the heart of the preacher pouring out to his flock his own deep convictions, enforcing them from the “treasures, old and new,” of a cultivated mind.

Ten of the discourses in this volume were published some years ago, part of them under the title, “Who is Jesus Christ;” the others under that of “The Spirit of Faith,” in which form they have been for some time past out of print. To these are now first added a series of discourses on the Mass and on the Sacramental Life of Christ. As the two little volumes just named are likely to be known to some of our readers, we need here only remark that “The Spirit of Faith” has special value as a most able reply to the question “What must I do to believe?” written with reference to the peculiar difficulties and tendencies of the modern mind: the first discourse dwells upon the “Necessity of Belief,” and the significance of that necessity is pointed out; and the second expounds the “New Testament teaching as to what Faith is.” “Prejudice as an Obstacle to Faith” gives a vivid and eloquent picture of the nefarious effects of prejudice, chief among the sources of which it is shown is education—the perpetuation in each

new generation of the great Protestant tradition about the Catholic Church. "Wilfulness as an Obstacle to Faith" points out the need of "goodwill," and the fatal results in a heart of "self," pride or wilfulness,—and its manifestations in the craving for independence and freedom, and the pretence of manliness," which the Bishop of Newport says he believes to be "the very root of the world's opposition to the spirit of Faith." The final discourse of the series is entitled "Faith the Gift of Jesus Christ." From the remaining discourses, which contain many passages that tempt one to note them, some for their eloquence, others as evidencing the preacher's spiritual knowledge and wonderful power of analysis, we must be content to take the following:

#### THREE EFFECTS OF PENANCE.

What are our chief difficulties after we have once conceived the desire to turn to God? God's help being supposed, there are three difficulties about our interior spiritual activity—the difficulty of certainty or definiteness, the difficulty of warmth or fervour, and the difficulty of strength. The Sacrament of Penance meets all these. First, as to definiteness in our interior acts. The sinner who begins to turn to God experiences a great deal of that condition of will which the wise man describes—"he willetteth and he willeth not." At times he would be virtuous, abandon his sin, and turn to God. But he finds it difficult to bring matters to the point. His best thoughts wander: he is like a man in a mist, he has no definite idea where he is. His past life is blurred and blotted, he is tempted to let it pass. And the consequence is that most men, even with good desires, let the past alone, and content themselves with an indefinite idea they will be better for the future. Now the practice of the Sacrament of Penance makes this impossible. The penitent has to examine his past life, not with foolish or nervous solicitude, but with fair exactness; he has to get a sort of catalogue of his doings before his eyes. This not only impresses him with a true idea of his sinfulness, but it shows him what to do for the future, and, what is more than all, makes him, on a certain day and hour, lay his sins as in a bundle at the feet of his Saviour's Cross, and there and then work up his heart by prayerful meditation to detest them utterly, and to resolve on a new life for the future. Thus he becomes *sure* of his interior disposition. In the same way he becomes *earnest* or intense. Self-examination, definiteness of place and time, the humbling of ourselves before a fellow-man like our confessor—all this makes us earnest. These things rouse resistance too thoroughly in our lower nature not to make us very intense and determined. Just as a man never knows he has evil passions till some one crosses him, so the practice of the Sacrament of Penance, like a cross placed on us by Christ Jesus, intensifies our interior acts, and so increases our merit.—"Christ and the Sinner," p. 245.

#### THE SENSES AND THE EUCHARIST.

Our senses are under Almighty God's overruling control, just like the air and the waters, the forces of the earth and of the sky. What is seeing or tasting? It is a physical change or immutation of a certain sense or organ, causing that vital reaction of the soul which we call "knowing." Such immutation of the organ ordinarily proceeds from the influence of an external object, or is the lingering effect of a past sensation. But it is in God's power to have it otherwise. He can make us see appearances when there is nothing but appearances, as He made

Tobias see the body which the Angel Raphael seemed to have, and which the Angel afterwards told Tobias was not a body at all. He can also make us *not see* a thing when it is truly present, or seem to see appearances in a thing which are quite different from what are really the thing's own appearances. You remember, for instance, how the eyes of the disciples going to Emmaus were "held" that they should not know our Lord. They saw Him, talked to Him, and ate with Him; they saw features and heard the accents of a voice; but neither the features nor the voice were those familiar ones they knew so well. It was not that our Lord altered His looks nor the tone of His voice; but their eyes were "held." In the Blessed Eucharist there is the appearance of bread when there is no bread, and there is the Body of our Lord without Its appearances. What is there impossible in this? And it is not as if God deceived us. When He interferes with natural law He does so for a serious purpose and at rare intervals. When He "holds" our senses that we see not the thing really present in the Eucharist, He does so by a rare and most exceptional act, and He gives us the most solemn warnings and assurances that He has done so. And thus the apparent paradox is no paradox at all.—"The Blessed Sacrament," p. 266.

#### THE MASS THE HISTORY OF CHRISTIAN LIFE.

The altar of the Christian Church is not, like the stone of Bethel, set up in one only spot of the earth. The roof of the Christian temple is not seen only among the hills and the ravines of one historic site in Palestine. The altar of Christianity is at this moment well-nigh as widely to be found even as the name of Christian. It stands in old Christian lands canopied by great cathedrals; in the dim sanctuaries of old parish churches; amid the colour and the freshness of temples which only date from yesterday. In countries where the Faith is lost, the altar has survived or been set up again; sometimes in a hired room, sometimes in the humble cottage of a believer (who is surely blessed as Obededom when he harboured the Ark of the Covenant on his threshing-floor!); sometimes again in the schools of children; sometimes under a roof which the pence of the poor and the sacrifices of the rich have combined to raise aloft. In the lands of the heathen, the altar is pushed forward wherever the light of the Gospel advances; on the clearing of the forest, on the tropical banks of African rivers, among the huts of far-off savages, the priest sets up a Bethel—a house of God; sets up his little altar and makes ready for his Mass. The missionary in China or in Africa does this day what Peter did in Antioch, Paul in Pagan Rome, Mark in Alexandria, a hundred Popes in the Catacombs, a thousand Bishops and martyrs in the red and hunted days of the persecutions. Between the day when Peter first went through the Eucharistic liturgy and the breaking of bread in Jerusalem, and the Mass which was said this morning, how many centuries and how vast a stream of human life! Between the wooden altar, existing still, used by St. Peter in Rome, and the thin slab of stone which the Lazarist or the Capuchin carries painfully under tropical skies or in the frozen zones of Western Canada, how various a history and how long a tale if the tale were told! Mass in the Catacombs, when the fierce hand of the heathen persecutor often burst in and slew the Pontiff at the altar; Mass in old churches like those of Ravenna, amid the splendour of a Christian Roman civilization, doomed to die; Mass in bowers of green branches in German or English forests; Mass on the wild sea-islands of the Western coasts, said by the monks of St. Columba or St. Ninian; Mass in the Saxon monasteries of England—Wearmouth, Whitby, Ripon, Peterborough, Sherborne; Mass in the glorious cathedrals of the Middle Ages, thronged with the great, the rich, the brave, and the poor; Mass in the little parish

churches of Wales, whose very shape, divided as they are into sanctuary, presbytery, and nave, preaches eloquently of what used to take place there; Mass in days of persecution, among the hills and in the remote cabins of faithful Ireland, in the hiding-places of England and Wales; Mass, again, in happier days, when our altars once more are seen and our offerings are not torn from us—here is a sketch of that long and various historic chain which has never been broken and which still goes lengthening out, until the last priest shall say the last Mass before our Lord shall come to judge the world.—“The Grand Liturgical Act,” p. 276.

#### THE NATURE OF CHRISTIAN SERVICE.

You will find men and women who (as they express it) feel “good” on a Sunday, or feel “saved” at a meeting, or whose tenderness is excited by our Blessed Saviour’s sufferings, or again, who long in a kind of way for heavenly rest—and yet these very persons are habitually unjust in their dealings, or given to impurity, or the slaves of temper and passion; and they take no pains to get out of the mire of their sinful life. These people are, as I have said, sometimes themselves under a delusion. Their feelings are real enough at the time; but their delusion is to think that *feeling* is love and worship. Love and worship may overflow into the feelings—well and good; the feelings help to make our worship easier; but love and worship are in the reason, not the feelings. To understand, to resolve, to resist, to offer the heart, to regret sin—these are acts of worship; and they cannot be real without affecting our external actions. And, as just now observed, when our external life of service is in accordance with our interior life of worship, then what we do *intensifies* our love and worship. We are told by scientific men that light is colourless in itself; the lovely colours of the universe are the result of light being stopped or reflected by something solid; and even the heavenly blue of the cloudless sky would not be there were it not for certain innumerable minute particles of matter which seize and translate the flood of radiance, itself too subtle for the sense to apprehend. So, the work of our hands and the service of our lips and the ministrations of our bodies give colour and intensity to the ethereal signings-up of the soul; they increase the heart’s devotion, and by their very resistance—by the very fact that they make a call upon our resolution, our courage, or our self-denial—they give fresh heat to the spiritual impulse from which they proceed.—“Jesus Christ and Holiness,” p. 332.

#### THE EXAMPLE OF CHRIST.

We may here remark, as in substance we have remarked before, that for men to be able to imitate God Almighty is a marvel which no wise man of this world could ever have predicted. It is another of the consequences of the union in one Person of the divine and human nature. This Person—this Lord and Saviour, Who was born of a woman yet reigned from ages of ages, Who obeyed yet was the Omnipotent, and Who died yet is the ever-living life—has taken His place among men. He has taken human infirmities (without sin), felt human troubles, battled with human difficulties, exercised human virtues with His human heart and soul. The very things which His people and flock have to do in order to be saved, these He Himself has set Himself to do. . . . What is the reason of that curious sympathy which moves the heart of man to imitate the noble and the good? It is very difficult to analyse; but it certainly exists, and it can be described. Example, alas! can attract to evil as well as to good. But evil is not hard and difficult like good; and yet our poor weak hearts, when they see good example, are warmed and moved, as if some secret fibre of their own nature were touched.

Good example is made up of two elements—the sight of what is good and the sight of a living person who is doing good. Man's soul, if you give it fair play, thrills at the sight of what is beautiful, true, and good; and man's heart, if it be not a degraded heart, thrills at the sight of the living, palpitating efforts of another heart to be good and to do good. We cannot explain it; it is the way we are made. But when the Incarnate Word is the example, then the sympathy of our natures must necessarily rise high and strong, like some great earthly tide which all the influences of the heavens have combined to draw to its height. That eternal love which could not rest patiently in the inaccessible eternities, but found its way amongst men; that love which has made the Infinite our brother, our shepherd, and our comforter; that love which came to seek on earth that "jewelled robe" of suffering which it could not find in the heavens; that unspeakable love walks the narrow human road, carrying the knapsack of human concerns, its hands grasping the staff of a man, its feet wounded by the stones of life, its face set to the object and goal of human existence. See Him go by! Thank God, He is familiar to us. We are urged and moved to try to be even as He is.—"Jesus Christ and Holiness," p. 338.

*The Old Religion in England.* By Rev. PATRICK LYNCH. Tenth thousand. London: Catholic Truth Society; Burns & Oates. 1887.

THIS modest, but really valuable, little penny pamphlet, is well worthy of a wide circulation, especially among Anglicans. Fr. Lynch is clear in his arrangement, and not sparing of large and bold type. His plan is simplicity itself: in three sections he puts before the reader by means of quotations from contemporary writers, the crucial doctrines of (1) the Monks of Iona; (2) the Early British Church; and (3) the Anglo-Saxons; his chief witnesses being, respectively, Adamnan, Gildas, and St. Bede. He rightly gives the greatest space to the Monks of Iona, for they have not yet received the attention they deserve, and Fr. Lynch shows pointedly from Freeman that they actually converted "more than half of the whole of England,"—*i.e.*, the whole of the northern and midland parts. It becomes therefore of the greatest importance to show that they taught exactly what we taught concerning such vital points as fasting, the continuance of miracles, confession to a priest, celibacy of the clergy, the supremacy of the Holy See, the Sacrifice of the Mass, holy water, the relics and invocation of saints, angel guardians, prayers for the dead, &c. We are glad to see that Fr. Lynch has made good use of Wasserschleben's valuable publications, "Bussordnungen der abendländischen Kirche" (1851), and his recent "Irische Kanonensammlung" (1885). Priests will find this an excellent pamphlet to distribute.

*The Elements of Ecclesiastical Law.* By the Rev. S. B. SMITH, D.D. Vol. I. Ecclesiastical Persons. Sixth Edition. New York, &c.: Benziger Brothers. 1887.

DR. Smith's "Ecclesiastical Law" is now well known, and we need do little more than announce this sixth edition, which has been written up to the Third Plenary Council of the United

States. The important legislation of that Council has marked, as the author observes, a new era in the history of the Church in the States. The new mode of electing bishops, the new irremovable rectors, their appointment by *concursus*, and their dismissal for canonical cause, the admission into a diocese, and the arrangements for the management of seminaries—all these subjects find a place in this new edition. There is also added, at the end of the book, an entirely new treatise, on the new diocesan consultors as established by the Council. The learned author, at the date of his preface (Feb. 20), hoped in a few months to publish a new edition of the second volume of his work. Simultaneously with the second volume, a special and separate treatise was to appear on the new form of trial laid down in the Instruction of Propaganda *Cum Magnopere* of 1884. The third and last volume of the "Elements" will be given to the public in a short time.

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*In Hebraismos Novi Testamenti.* D. SCHILLING. Mechliniae :  
Dessain. 1886.

THERE is a great deal which is interesting in this volume, and any one who has any familiarity with the subject will find it a profitable task to read it through. There are, however, very serious drawbacks, and the want of anything like scientific method unfit the book for use as a student's compendium. Unfortunately the author has neglected the first principle which he was bound to keep in view in his general account of the origin and nature of Hebraisms in the New Testament—viz., a rigid separation between the different writings of which the collection which goes by that name is composed. Then authors differ, as every scholar knows, in the degree of purity with which they write Greek, and Schilling's meagre statement in a footnote, that Luke writes purer Greek than Matthew, and Paul purer Greek than any New Testament writer except Luke, is miserably insufficient, and inaccurate besides. As a matter of fact, the Epistle of James is in far purer Greek than any Epistle of Paul's, while Luke's style differs very much in different strata of his Gospel. On the whole, no doubt, his Greek is comparatively pure, but the first two chapters have a strong Aramaic colouring, dependent, perhaps, on the documents which the Evangelist followed. It is still more misleading to speak vaguely of the style of "John," for the Joannic epistles and the Fourth Gospel are fair Greek, whereas the Apocalypse is intensely Hebrew both in spirit and language. Again, it is no less surprising to be told, on the authority of Jerome, that Matthew and John made their Old Testament quotations from the original. In fact, Matthew, when the matter is common to the first and second Gospels, habitually follows the Septuagint, while passages peculiar to the first Gospel not unfrequently betray a knowledge of the original. In the fourth Gospel there are fourteen quotations from the Old Testament, in four of which the Septuagint is reproduced word for word. If we turn to the treatment of particular words and phrases, then we have much the same kind of fault to find. Much useful matter is given, but it needs careful

sifting, and sometimes the chief point is missed. Thus Schilling notices very justly that the constant use of *καὶ* instead of *δὲ*, to connect clauses, is a mark of Hebrew style, but he calls no attention to the striking fact that in the Apocalypse *δὲ* occurs only six or at most seven times, and, on the other hand, about two hundred times in John's Gospel, though the length of the latter does not exceed that of the former by much more than a third. As a final illustration of the character of the book, we must note the singularly inaccurate way in which the list of Hebrew and Aramaic words in the New Testament has been compiled. *Μετριας* is not, as Dr. Schilling supposes, derived from a Hebrew, but from an Aramaic word, which in turn is derived from the Hebrew. *Κοῦμι* also, in Mark v. 41, is not a Hebrew but an Aramaic word, as the rest of the sentence proves; and the student should have been told that the best MSS. read *κοῦμη*, the iota being left out in accordance with the Syriac usage of leaving the final letter in such forms unpronounced. In the *λαμπά σαβαχθανί* of Mark xv. 34, the former word is Hebrew, the latter Aramaic, a hybrid mixture on which Dr. Schilling, as might have been expected, is silent. He asserts that *πάγος* is a Persian word, and then proceeds to affirm its connection with a pure Hebrew root, forgetting that Persian is an Aryan and Hebrew a Semitic tongue, and a derivation of this kind is, on the face of it, an exploded absurdity. The true origin of the word, even the language to which it in the first instance belonged, is quite unknown, and specialists such as Schrader and the younger Delitzsch, are fain to confess their ignorance on the point. But any scholar will see that the mere mention of Dr. Schilling's theory is its sufficient condemnation.

W. E. ADDIS.

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*The Names of the Eucharist.* By LUIGI LANZONI, Provost-General of the Institute of Charity. A translation from the Italian by a Priest of the same Institute. Dublin : M. H. Gill & Son. 1887.

TO describe this pretty book, we cannot do better than quote a few lines from the Bishop of Newport's Introduction :

It is a privilege to be permitted to introduce to the English-speaking public such a book as this. The writer, the learned and amiable General of the Institute of Charity, has chosen the happiest of subjects ; and his translator, the Rev. Father Cormack, of the same Institute, has given a faithful and idiomatic version of a most charming book. The title, "The Names of the Eucharist," suggests such a variety of thought, and such a wealth of devotion, that one may well wonder it has never been used before. The author's idea has been to take some thirty "Names" which are used in speaking of the great sacrament and sacrifice, beginning with "Eucharist," and ending with "Holy Vaticum," and to write a short devotional commentary on each. This he has done with much knowledge of Holy Scripture and of the Fathers, and with a pleasing and pious unction, so as not only to instruct the mind, but to elevate the heart to Almighty God.

It is evident that the writer has opened a mine of devotion which

is particularly rich in its yield. Whenever the greatest of all sacraments has had a name given to it, whether in the pages of inspiration or by saints and doctors of the Church, that name has summed up a whole treatise of dogma and of edification. The names of the Eucharist will bear the most attentive and patient analysis; and a commentator has only to be moderately skilled in the handling of Scripture and of the Fathers to find ready to his hand the most valuable and authoritative commentaries.

The writer's plan is to take each name and explain and illustrate it in three, or sometimes four, brief points. Let us take, as an example, his treatment of the venerable title "Bread of Life." In his first section he reminds us that our Divine Lord is alone the "life" of the soul, and points out how natural it is that His Sacrament should be to the Church as the "lignum vitae" of Paradise. The second paragraph, which is somewhat longer, develops the great idea that the Christian life is "life in Christ," with illustrations from St. Paul, St. Thomas, and Father Rosmini, and devotional references to the experience of the saints in partaking of the Holy Communion. The third and concluding point is that the Eucharist is the triumph of soul and body over death—a point worked out with devotional warmth, but briefly. The whole book, indeed, is written briefly and practically, without dry disquisitions or vapid viewiness, but with abundance of reference to the New Testament and the great Fathers. Some of the references—and they are all carefully given in foot-notes—would well bear further treatment; and it is probable that more than one preacher will be led to pursue for himself some of the tracks that are here pointed out. But whether as an assistance to the pastor in his frequent Eucharistic conferences, or as a distinct addition to our spiritual reading, these unpretending but earnest and eloquent pages are sure to be welcome.

It should be added that the work is dedicated, in a few touching pages, to the Rev. Father de Vit, of the Institute of Charity, having been written by the Father-General and presented on the sacerdotal Jubilee of Father de Vit. There is also an introduction of some twenty pages by the Bishop of Newport.

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*Addresses delivered on Various Occasions.* By the Most Rev. Dr. WALSH, Archbishop of Dublin. Dublin: M. H. Gill & Son. 1886.

THIS volume may be said to have been created by a very thrilling epoch in recent events in Ireland, and will serve as the best record and the truest reflection of much that was felt, and said, and done at that time. The events which preceded the elevation of Dr. Walsh to the See of Dublin are too well known to need recapitulation. Considerations of supreme national interest came to be centred in the single issue of his appointment. The highest sanction and sympathy for the national aspirations, the all-precious honour and freedom of the Irish Church, and the defeat of a pitiable government intrigue, were alike staked in the result. After an anxious

interval, during which the nation held its breath, how strong was the outburst of pent-up feeling may be readily conceived. These considerations secured for the new archbishop a welcome to his See such as has only seldom fallen to the lot of any prelate in Christendom. From the first moment of his landing addresses were showered upon him from all classes of the community, from the City Corporation, colleges, and learned societies, down to the simplest confraternities. If in these addresses the people poured forth to the Archbishop all that they felt, hoped, and prayed for, the response of the Archbishop was not less complete. His replies are embodied in this volume, and the reader will be disposed to marvel how, in so short a space of time, so much has been said, and said so well. On the three main divisions of the Irish movement—Home Rule, Land Tenure, and University Education—the Archbishop speaks with a firmness and clearness that revives the best traditions of the Irish Episcopate in dealing with the great national problems of the time. The subject of University Education receives at his hands exhaustive treatment and the letters and replies on this subject have the value of a treatise on the actual state and working of the University system in Ireland. In a higher sense, the volume will be prized as a testimony of that fulness and depth of sympathy which unites the pastor and people, and as a record of a trying period in which events did so much to deepen the sympathy and cement the union. In a still higher, it will remain as a record of stirring times, in which an Irish archbishop has taken his traditional place as the tribune of the nation, and has voiced with singular accuracy and eloquence all that was first in the mind and deepest in the heart of the Irish people.

J. M.

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*Three Anti-Pelagian Treatises of St. Augustine*—viz., *De Spiritu et Littera*, *De Natura et Gratia*, and *De Gestis Pelagii*, Translated, with Analyses, by F. H. Woods, B.D., Lecturer in Theology and late Fellow of St. John's College, Oxford, and J. O. JOHNSTON, M.A., Lecturer in Theology at Lincoln and Merton Colleges, Oxford. London: David Nutt. 1887.

CONTACT with great minds, if only through the medium of their literary works, is itself the best education; for the impress of genius is deep, clearly defined, and lasting. There can, therefore, be no better school for the student of theology than at the feet of the renowned Fathers and Doctors of the Church, amongst whom St. Augustine, on questions of divine grace, and human freewill, stands pre-eminent.

It cannot but be a matter for cordial congratulation to see the works of the Doctor of Grace taking their place, not merely on the library shelf, but also on the lecture-table, and in the Colleges and Halls of Oxford. From the well-printed pages of the volume before us—comprising a scholarly version of St. Augustine's three Treatises: *De Spiritu et Littera*; *De Natura et Gratia*; *De Gestis Pelagii*—the young Anglican divine is invited to sip the Christian science of divine grace. The average reader can hardly help

acquiring from these sources, with ordinary application, an amount of knowledge upon this vital question which the most highly talented and industrious student would have failed to extract from any or all of the works of the old standard Anglican authors. In due time solid reading and study of this kind will bear its fruit when the present generation of youthful divines passes on to occupy in its turn the bench, the pulpit, and the professorial chair. We can hail here a sign of genuine advance, when the theological faculty of Oxford abandons perfunctory examinations in vague and vacuous authors for the study of Catholic and definite principles.

Of course, the Doctrine of Grace is but one, and by no means the lowest, stage in the edifice of theological science. A distinct knowledge of the divine attributes and nature, a profound insight into the constitution of man, with all his varied animal, intellectual and moral faculties and their complicated relationships, all this must precede any adequate comprehension of the system of grace. Yet even a first tentative excursion into the regions of theological questions on divine grace, under the guidance of a leader like St. Augustine, will stimulate the least philosophical of dispositions to follow the thread of the labyrinth to both its extremities. An author such as St. Augustine, with his human interest in life imparting vivacity to his style and pathos and animation to argument itself, is a guide whom the student can follow with a confidence that he knows is well placed and will be richly rewarded.

Far different is the feeling with which the young and thoughtful student handles the ordinary modern text-book of theology, even in some Catholic centres of education. He perceives an absence of touch with real life, and a lack of living interest in the science of divine things, and can plainly observe how his author is more indebted for his materials to the paste-pot and the scissors, than to study from the living models of the inspired and inspiring pages of Holy Writ and the Christian Fathers. To replace this tough and stringy pabulum of dried texts and dissected anatomies by a more human diet, seems to be the object of our Holy Father, Leo. XIII., in directing that ecclesiastical students should have in their hands the original works of St. Thomas, that admirer and faithful exponent of St. Augustine. St. Thomas intended his "Summa" for *beginners*. What useful purpose, then, can so many inferior and bulky text-books serve, compiled though they profess to be *juxta mentem D. Thomæ*, if they crowd out St. Thomas himself? Had St. Thomas a *mind* only, but not the capacity, to speak plainly for himself?

Many other considerations present themselves, but we must be content to leave this matter to the further reflection of our readers, adding only a few words about the version before us. It is an interesting specimen of the translator's art, if any translation were needed. But would it not be better that students in the Oxford Honour School of Theology, for whom these Treatises are prescribed, should confine themselves to the original? And why should he translator render: *Nam concupiscentiam nesciebam nisi lex diceret: Non concupisces;* by "For I had not known desire, except

the law had said, *Thou shalt not desire.*" ("The Spirit and the Letter," 21.) This seems very weak, and all the more unaccountable after the declaration in the Preface that, when permissible, Scripture quotations would be rendered in the familiar words of the Authorized Version. The Authorized, the Revised, and the Douay Versions, all give a more vigorous rendering of this passage. The Introductions and Analyses of the Treatises seem fairly done, and will be a material help to the candidate for examination.

We must close this inadequate review with a short specimen of the translator's work in "The Spirit and the Letter," § 17, p. 18.

"Where then is thy boasting? It is excluded. Through what law? Of works? Nay, but through the law of faith." Here he (the Apostle), may have intended that praiseworthy boasting which is in the Lord, and meant by its being excluded, not that it was driven away so as to depart, but pressed out so as to become prominent, just as some silversmiths are called "beaters out" (*exclusores*). Similarly, we have that passage in the Psalms, "That they may be excluded who have been proved by silver;" that is, "that they may be prominent who have been tried by the Lord;" for he says, in another place, "The words of the Lord are pure words, silver-tried by fire."

A Catholic theologian will regret the poverty of technical terms, which has induced the translators to continue imposing an undue task upon such jaded and overworked words as *righteousness* and *godliness*, and some others with their corresponding adjectives, which have not only to bear their own burthen, but are forced to carry the load that ought to be distributed among the healthy and well-understood terms, *justice*, *holiness*, and the rest.

G. C.

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*Der Katholische Dichter Aurelius Prudentius Clemens.* Von P. AUGUSTIN RÖSLER, C.SS.R. Freiburg: Herder. 1887. ["The Catholic Poet, Aurelius Prudentius Clemens." By Father A. Rösler, C.SS.R.]

THE great edition of Prudentius's works by Father Arevalo, S.J. (Rome, 1788), has been followed in this century by the two critical editions of Obbarius and Dressel. Next came a Life of the poet by Dr. Brockhaus, a Protestant, who, although wishful to do his subject justice, fell short of his aim from force of prejudice, which prevented him thoroughly understanding so Catholic a poet as Prudentius is acknowledged to be. Indeed, a satisfactory study of Prudentius could be expected only from a Catholic; and we must congratulate Fr. Rösler on having performed his task so successfully. His work will stand criticism; it is no second-hand compilation, but a painstaking study of the original works of the poet by a man who has a competent acquaintance with Christian antiquities, and is alike at home in the departments of dogma and art. With such qualifications for his task, no wonder that he has produced a work which has already won eulogistic praise in Germany. His book is divided into two parts, treating respectively of the life and the doctrine of Prudentius. In the first part we have a Life of Prudentius and an account of his works; we

look on him "in prayer" whilst he writes the "Kathemerinon," and the "Peristephanon." Another chapter sketches him as fighting the battles of the Church against the prevailing heresies of his time. We can with difficulty form an adequate estimate, at the present time, of the esteem in which Prudentius was held in the Christian schools of the Middle Ages. He was their poet *par excellence*, and thousands of youths shaped their own efforts on him as the model Christian poet. Father Rösler was justified, therefore, in sketching as he has done the wide-spreading influence of Prudentius over past generations. The second part of his work treats of the "doctrine" of Prudentius, and dwells on his dogmatical and moral system, if one may say so. Do you look for a "Mariology" as developed as any of a zealous writer of our own day, read chapter vi., on "The Mother of God." Father Rösler's volume must be admitted to be a very important contribution to the history of Catholic science, whilst it is one of those works which at the same time exert a helpful influence, rousing Catholics to love the more their faith, and be faithful to it amidst the vicissitudes of our present "struggle for existence."

BELLESHEIM.

*The Banquet of the Angels: The Wedding Garment. Preparation and Thanksgiving for Holy Communion.* Translated by the Most Rev. GEORGE PORTER, S.J., Archbishop of Bombay. London: Burns & Oates. 1887.

THIS daintily bound little volume of eucharistic meditations contains the meditations already long and well known in the "Priest's Manual," adapted for the use of the laity. Many priests, with whom that Manual is an old favourite, will need no further word to recommend the "Banquet of Angels" to the devout of their flocks. There is here added at the end of the volume a few well-chosen devotions—litanies, prayers, and ejaculations—for before and after Holy Communion. A few Latin phrases have escaped translation, and will have to be skipped by most of those for whom the new volume is designed.

1. *The Venerable Bede Expurgated, Expounded, and Exposed.* By THE PRIG, Author of "The Life of a Prig."
2. *How to Make a Saint; or, The Process of Canonization in the Church of England.* By THE PRIG, Author of "Prig's Bede," &c. London: Kegan Paul, Trench & Co. 1887.

THESE brightly and vivaciously written volumes will be welcomed by all who appreciated "The Prig's" clever and amusing autobiography. No heavy artillery ever brought to bear against the so-called "Anglican position" has been more damaging than the rapier-like points which here are so lightly and playfully, yet so incisively thrust home. Their delicate satire, without any particle of personality, and complete unconsciousness of effort, should com-

mend them to those lovers of true English humour for whom mere controversy has no charm. "The Prig" catches to the very life the ineffable *manner* (with all their wondrously inconsequent logic and impudent perversion of historical facts), which characterises such curious productions as the *Church Times*, and so, writes admirable burlesque, whose merry sarcasm would compare, and not unfavourably, even with Sheridan's "Critic."

In "The Prig's Bede" we have selected passages from the Saxon historian quoted from the text of Dr. Giles' translation. The preface tells us that "the lesson which the reader will be kind enough to learn from this portion of the writings of Bede is, that the Established Church of England is the descendant and representative of the ancient British Church, founded in this country five centuries before the schism introduced from Rome by St. Augustine, and he will be so good as to consider the earliest English Papists as little better than dissenters." This deduction is supposed to be clinched when "The Prig" by his interpolated commentaries has sufficiently "expurgated, expounded, and exposed" his Bede.

Under this veil of pleasant parody, the assertion, chiefly resuscitated for the electioneering needs of 1885, that the Anglican Association "is the old Church of the English people," is deftly demolished with killing ridicule. No apology will be needed for quoting at length what follows:

Note 6.—There is a gem in the crown of the Church of England, which is wanting in that of every other Church in the world. This gem is its comprehensiveness. We may even call it one of the marks of the True Church; for it is undoubtedly a mark of the Church of England, and since the Church of England is the True Church, comprehensiveness must be a mark of the True Church. It is, therefore, an immense gratification to the historian of the early British Church to be able to bring forward ample evidence of its comprehensiveness during the second, third, and fourth centuries of the Christian era. . . . In order, then, to be able to compare the comprehensive spirit of the early British Church with our own, it will be well to consider for a moment the grasp of the latter at the present day. It gathers to its large motherly heart, high Church, higher Church, highest Church, broad Church, middling Church, low Church, lower Church, and lowest Church. Some of its children believe the Communion to be bread and nothing else; some believe it to be the Body of Christ; others believe it to be in a sort of way the Body of Christ, and in a sort of way common bread. There are those, again, who believe it to be the Body of Christ if consecrated by a member of the Order of Corporate Reunion, and common bread if consecrated by an ordinary clergyman. A large number think it very doubtful what it is. Some of our clergymen use leavened bread, and some unleavened bread. Some mix water with the wine, and others do not. Of those who do, some mix it in the church, and some in the vestry. If all this does not show the mark of a True Church, I should like to know what does!

There is not a dull page in "The Prig's Bede."

Turning to "How to Make a Saint," we explore a similar vein of rich raillery, yielding genuine fun to the last page. We have left ourselves space only to send our readers to the book itself, where

they may learn how the "initial impulse" to make Anglican saints visited the Rev. Kentigern Maniple. How, he and his friends, including the Rev. Mother of St. Betsy's Home, were exercised by the fact that they "had not got a single saint who ever used the *Book of Common Prayer*," or "who had assented to the Thirty-Nine Articles,—*Not that they thought any the worse of the saints for that*." They will read, too, of the difficulty of getting a bishop to move in the matter, "unless in the wrong direction," of the great public meetings, of how "counsel's opinion is taken," of the great suit in the Court of Arches of "*Muggins v. Maniple*," and the appeal of the Privy Council, and what at last became of St. Hooker, Saint Laud, Saint and Doctor Samuel Johnson, and Saint Hannah More.

We feel quite sure that wherever these capital little books are read, there too will be "Laughter holding both his sides."

*Records relating to the Dioceses of Ardagh and Clonmacnoise.* By the Very Rev. CANON MONAHAN, D.D. Dublin: M. H. Gill & Son.

THIS well got up volume is a sample of the excellent results which may be achieved in the work of Irish Diocesan histories. It must be admitted that, in the Church of Ardagh, the writer has had a subject which might well kindle his enthusiasm as a historian. It possesses all the charm of venerable antiquity—it dates from 454; of august origin—it was founded by St. Patrick, and had his nephew, St. Mel, for its first bishop; of hallowed associations—it was within its walls that St. Bridget, the "Mary of Erin," received from the hands of St. Mel the religious habit. In more modern and recent times its bishops have taken a leading part in many of the great political and educational movements which mark the later period of the history of the Irish Church. The very fact that the Church of Ardagh is so ancient renders the task of its historian more difficult. He has to cover a space of two centuries before he reaches the point where diocesan historians, on the English side of the Channel, are accustomed to begin. He is carried back to a period of which the traditions are faint and the records are few, and where little can be ascertained as fact, and much must be left to conjecture. We are not surprised, therefore, that in the episcopal succession there are some few lacunes which there are no data to fill—missing links on a very long chain, and missing only in the sense that they lie hidden for dearth of evidence. From St. Erard, in 754, the line is traced with substantial continuity down to the present day. As the procession of bishops comes nearer and clearer, fuller details and documents take the place of mere chronicled facts, and much valuable light is shed upon the main features of Church government and discipline in Ireland. The Rinuccini MSS., Theiner's collection of the Vatican Archives, the Archives of the Diocese of Dublin, and many other sources, have been put in requisition, and the most important documents have been given in

*extenso.* Several declarations of the Irish bishops in 1649 illustrate the feeling and action of the hierarchy during the invasion by Cromwell. Statutes approved for the diocese of Armagh, in 1761, present a fair view of the discipline, and indirectly of the commoner breaches of discipline, prevailing at that time. In 1794 we have the correspondence between the Irish Bishops and the Government, which eventually led to the foundation of Maynooth; and in 1833, the negotiations with the Belgian Government concerning the burses founded in that country in favour of Irish students. Of still greater interest is the full report of the evidence given before the Education Inquiry in 1826, by Dr. O'Higgins, then Professor of Dogmatic Theology at Maynooth, and afterwards Bishop of Ardagh. The Bishop was educated in Ireland, France, and Rome, and he subsequently taught in Maynooth, and his evidence reflects with graphic clearness the theological views on the relations of Church and State prevailing in the Irish, French, and Roman colleges of that time. The evidence, to some minds, perhaps, will have the value of a tide-mark, registering the advance of transalpine views made since that time. In 1847 the great question of Queen's Colleges loomed into sight, and then began that acute and prolonged struggle between the Irish Hierarchy and the English Government, in which the bishops so unfalteringly fought and won the battle of religious education. In that arduous struggle, the bishops of Ardagh played a conspicuous part, and the correspondence of Dr. O'Higgins shows plainly enough how fiercely the contest was waged in Rome as well as in Ireland. Then, as in more recent times, the expedient of governing Ireland from London *via* Rome, was put into force, and English diplomats and Irish bishops measured their strength under the shadow of the Vatican, and with much the same result. Lords Minto and Shrewsbury were actively at work in the Holy City. As usual, the Propaganda issued a letter to the Irish prelates counselling moderation, and as usual, the admonitory letter had the effect of redoubling their energy, and of causing them to depute certain of their number to proceed to Rome and represent their views to the Supreme Pontiff. Dr. O'Higgins and Dr. MacHale were chosen as the deputies. The fact that amongst their opponents in Rome were to be found Dr. Wiseman and Dr. Nicholson Archbishop of Corfu, and Dr. Ennis an Irish parish priest, is illustrative of the manner in which the names of great and good men may be found upon the wrong side of questions of which the issues could be securely and completely felt and grasped only in the light of the local knowledge possessed by the prelates of the Irish Church. The true ring of the voice of the Irish episcopacy was never more clearly heard than in some of the letters in which Mr. O'Higgins reports progress to his fellow-bishops at home. In September 1848 he says : "Bold speaking must be the order of the day, and 'No surrender' our watchword. The more firmly you express your opinions, the more will you be approved of here." Eventually, all the "influences" failed, and the bishops triumphed.

In days when rumours reach us of a proposed re-establishment of diplomatic relations between Great Britain and Rome, a letter from Cardinal Cullen to the Bishop of Ardagh, in 1844, which Canon Monahan has included in his appendix, is of more than usual interest. Coming from one so thoroughly conversant with affairs both in Rome and in Ireland, the views of the late Cardinal are possessed of a special weight and significance. He says :

" If we get an Ambassador here " [Rome] " his only business will be to intrigue, and he will have plenty of room to do so in Rome. Some will think it a great honour to be invited to a *soirée* by an English nobleman. Much mischief may be done. . . . If the bishops in Ireland were united, his influence would be counteracted; but if we be divided at home, we shall fall an easy prey to our enemies."

At the present day, when methods of specialization which have wrought such wonders in science, are being so generally applied to history, and when local, provincial, or diocesan histories are being called upon to gradually form the whole substructure of national or ecclesiastical history, it is gratifying to find Irish scholars responding to the movement, and setting forth in the language, not of mere rhetoric, but of solid research, the ancient glories of the Church of Ireland. May Canon Monahan find many to follow his example, and do for other dioceses what he has done so ably for Ardagh and Clonmacnoise.

J. M.

*Thomas Grant, First Bishop of Southwark.* By KATHLEEN O'MEARA.  
Second Edition. London : Allen & Co. 1887.

WE are truly pleased to see this charming biography in a second edition. Miss O'Meara is one of our most delightful writers, and she has given us, in the life of Bishop Grant, a book which must live in our Catholic literature. The gentle, hard-working, pure-minded, saintly Bishop is sketched with vivid power, and we still see him, in this beautiful "Life," moving about in and out amongst his orphans and his people with his playful manner, and kindly smile and tender charity. His figure is one that ought to be perpetuated, and we shall all be the better for it. Miss O'Meara has done this for us by her magic pen, and we are grateful for the boon.

This second edition is made more valuable and interesting by a kind and sympathetic Preface from the hand of Bishop Ullathorne.

*The True Religion and its Dogmas.* By Rev. N. Russo, S.J. Boston : Noonan & Co. 1886.

THIS is not a book of "controversy," in the ordinary sense of the word, but a book of exposition of Catholic doctrine. It is a kind of dogmatic theology in the English language, dealing with some of the essential dogmas of the Church. It is divided into two parts, the first comprising seventeen chapters, and treating principally

of the foundations of Religion and of the Catholic Church; the second treating of some special dogmas. The great idea of the author is to demolish the Rationalist school, and to show the reasonableness of the Catholic teaching. Father Russo writes like a man who has mastered both theology and philosophy, and presents his thoughts with clearness and vigour.

There are several chapters of special interest at the present day, such as, "Papal Infallibility," "The Church and the Natural Sciences," "Salvation out of the Church," "Everlasting Punishments," and others. If non-Catholic readers would master these excellent chapters, they would have little to object to the teaching of the Catholic Church on the important points there treated of. When the author quotes certain theologians at p. 130 in favour of St. Augustine's theory of the "six days," he might have strengthened his position by the authority of St. Thomas, who says he is unwilling to differ from St. Augustine. With regard to Father Russo's arguments against "Evolution," we are doubtful about their cogency. We should have been glad to see the names of some, at least, of the "many theologians who maintain that the doctrine affirming that man's body came from God's *immediate action belongs to divine faith.*" We do not say we differ from Father Russo's view, but we should have been grateful for names on this much-debated point.

We recommend this production as a very useful and solid little work.

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*Glimpses of a Hidden Life: Memories of Attie O'Brien.* By Mrs. MORGAN JOHN O'CONNELL. Dublin: Gill & Son. 1887.

WE may safely say this is a most delightful little book. We get, in going through its pages, "glimpses" of a very beautiful, simple, and winning character. Attie O'Brien was one of those "gentle, sweet natures born to weakness," who has left us some of the riches she possessed, in the letters, poems, &c., contained in this volume. Whoever can appreciate charming simplicity of nature, purity of soul, brightness and joyousness of character, and brilliancy of mental gifts, will be delighted with these "glimpses," and most grateful to Mrs. Morgan O'Connell for giving them to us.

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*The Science of Thought.* By F. MAX MÜLLER. London: Longmans, Green & Co. 1887.

PROFESSOR Max Müller, anxious that the results of a long life of solitary reflection and of study of the foremost thinkers of all nations should not be lost to the world, has collected his matured ideas into a thick volume of nearly 700 pages. He calls it the "Science of Thought," but a more correct title would be "Language and Thought;" for the veteran philologist's view is, that there is no thought without language, and no language without thought.

To Catholic readers, or rather, let it be said, to sound philosophical thinkers, the value of the book lies in the detailed and very interesting exposition of the absolute connection that exists between language and intelligence. His main thesis is, that thought without language, or some other kind of embodiment, is impossible. But a great deal of the material he accumulates goes to prove that the so-called intellect of creatures lower than man differs in essential particulars from human reason. Prof. Max Müller's complete mastery of the science of language makes his treatment of this subject authoritative in the highest degree. A little training in scholastic philosophy would have saved him from one or two inadequate generalizations. When he says that thought lives in language, and in language only, we want him to distinguish between the "verbum mentis" and the "verbum oris." "Language" is sometimes only a mental (and imaginative) picture, without any utterance in speech. The Oxford Professor seems to think that word-roots are, as it were, scintillations or blazing bits of the universal human mind, thrown off as it works, and identical all the world over. He would therefore make the study of "roots" equivalent to the study of logic. Most readers will not go with him quite so far as this; but the large volume is full of valuable matter for the logician, the psychologist, and the Christian philosopher.

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*A History of England in the Eighteenth Century.* By WILLIAM EDWARD HARTPOLE LECKY. Vols. V. & VI. London: Longmans, Green & Co.

**I**N October, 1882, I contributed to this REVIEW an article entitled "The Resurrection of Ireland," in which, following mainly the account given by Mr. Lecky in the fourth volume of his "History of England in the Eighteenth Century," I traced the progress of the Irish nation during the first twenty-two years of the reign of George III. I propose in the next number of the DUBLIN REVIEW to supplement what I then wrote by considering the fresh instalment of Irish history which Mr. Lecky has given us in his two new volumes. In what I am now about to write I shall briefly call attention to the rest of these volumes, and shall indicate generally what appear to me their principal merits and defects.

They deal with the period extending from the year 1784 to the year 1793. It is one of the most momentous periods in the world's history. "Opus aggredior opimum casibus, atrox praeliis, discors seditionibus, ipsa etiam pace severum," wrote Tacitus when entering upon the task to which he addressed himself in the "Histories." The words may well be echoed by any one who attempts to body forth and estimate the memorable decade of which the central event is that great upheaval emphatically called *The Revolution*. Ad haec quis tam idoneus? Certainly Mr. Lecky brings to his work some of the highest qualities of the historian. He is indefatigably industrious, absolutely conscientious; he possesses great powers of generalization

and grouping ; his style is lucid and forcible, and sometimes rises into severe and commanding eloquence. And, higher merit still, he is, in a true sense, ethical.

Speak of me as I am : nothing extenuate  
Nor aught set down in malice,

is the last petition of the dying Moor of Venice. The words may well serve as the primary rule of every one who applies himself to the writing of history. Mr. Lecky has of course his own political opinions. And we live so near to the events with which he deals that perhaps not even the most scrupulously fair mind can be absolutely unbiased in judging of them. It is hardly conceivable that a strong Conservative and a strong Liberal, though both writing in the best of faith, and in entire detachment from party ends, should arrive at the same estimate of the younger Pitt. But certainly Mr. Lecky's judgment of that statesman is so calm, so well balanced, so discriminating, that it would be difficult for any one to infer from it what are his own sympathies in respect of contemporary politics. Not indeed that Mr. Lecky ignores the practical side of history, or fails to deduce from the past, lessons for the present. But he does this with a transparent candour, a philosophical moderation, worthy of the highest praise. Take, for example, the following remarks on one of Pitt's budget speeches :—

No one can read this speech without perceiving that it was the speech of a man who was pre-eminently marked out, both by his wishes and by his talents, to be a great peace Minister. Pitt had, however, learnt too much from his father to suffer an exclusive attention to financial considerations to make him indifferent either to the security or to the dignity of England. One of the most serious dangers of modern popular politics is that gambling spirit which, in order to lower estimates and reduce taxation, leaves the country unprotected, trusting that the chapter of accidents will save it from attack. The reduction of taxes is at once felt, and produces an immediate reputation, while expenditure, which is intended to guard against remote, contingent, and unseen dangers, seldom brings any credit to a statesman. It is very possible for an English Minister to go on year by year so starving the military and naval estimates as to leave the country permanently exposed to invasion, without exciting any general popular apprehension. The warnings of a few competent specialists are easily drowned ; each successive reduction of taxation produces increased popularity, and if, owing to the course of politics, an invasion does not take place, writers are sure to arise who will maintain that the event has justified the wisdom of the statesman. It would be as reasonable to argue that, because a house does not happen to have been burnt, the owner had shown wisdom and prudence in refusing to insure it.

Once more. Mr. Lecky is well aware how carefully "manners and morals, industrial development, prevailing opinions, theories and tendencies" should be examined by any one who would write, at all adequately, an account of any epoch. One chapter, and that by no means the least interesting of an earlier volume, was devoted by him to the social characteristics of that portion of the century which

preceded the accession of George III., and another to its religious tendencies and changes. And so, in his sixth volume, he has given us a hundred and fifty admirably written pages in which (to use his own language) he brings before his reader "a number of scattered facts, illustrating from different points of view the habits, manners, conditions and opinions of the different classes of the English people." I am particularly struck by the vast amount of miscellaneous information exhibited by this chapter and by the skill with which the information is arranged and condensed. And I do not know that the author has ever written a more pregnantly suggestive passage than the following with which the chapter concludes:—

The question whether the standard of patriotism, of public duty, and of public honour has risen in England since the eighteenth century, is one which it appears to me far from easy to answer. . . . The improvement in the nation may be more than counterbalanced by the degradation of the suffrage. In one respect the superiority of the English Parliament of the eighteenth century will scarcely be disputed. With the doubtful exception of the small and short-lived Jacobite party, these Parliaments contained no party which was not in harmony with the general interests of the empire, and did not sincerely desire its greatness and prosperity. . . . A democratic age . . . will be free from many of the prevalent evils of an aristocratic government. The avowed cynicism, the disregard in foreign politics for the rights of nations, the open subordination of political interests to personal and family pretensions, the many forms of petty corruption which so often meet us in the eighteenth century have wholly disappeared or greatly diminished; but another and a not less dangerous family of vices has much tendency to increase. Cant and hypocrisy, the combination of mean action and supersaintly profession, the habitual use of language that does not represent the real sentiments and motives of the speaker, the habit of disguising party and personal motives under lofty and high-sounding professions, the sacrifice of the most enduring interests of the nation for the purpose of raising a popular cry or winning immediate applause, the systematic subordination of genuine conviction to popular favour—these are some of the characteristic vices of a democratic age. In such an age the demagogue takes the place of the old sycophant. Bribery is applied, not to individuals, but to classes. Dexterous appeals to ignorance, passion, and prejudice become supreme forms of party management. Questions of vast and dangerous import are unscrupulously raised for the purpose of uniting a party or displacing a Government, and a desire to trim the bark to every gust of popular favour produces apostasies, transformations, and alliances, compared with which the coalition of Fox and North will appear very venial. No modern statesman would attempt to bribe individuals or purchase boroughs like Walpole or like North, but we have ourselves seen a Minister going to the country on the promise that if he was returned to office he would abolish the principal direct tax paid by the class which was then predominant in the constituencies. Irish politics have long since ceased to be conducted by ennobling borough owners and pensioning members of Parliament, but the very impulse and essence of their most powerful popular movement has been an undisguised appeal to the cupidity and the dishonesty of the chief body in the electorate. Lofty maxims and sacred names are invoked in Parliament much more frequently than of old; but he who will observe how questions of the most

vital importance to the Constitution of England and the well-being of the Empire have in our generation been bandied to and fro in the party game ; how cynically the principles of one year have sometimes been abandoned in the next ; how recklessly prominent politicians have sought to gain their ends by setting the poor against the rich, and planting in the nation deadly seeds of class animosities and cupitudes, may well learn to look with tolerance and with modesty upon the England of the past.

The least satisfactory portion of the volumes, to my mind, is that which Mr. Lecky devotes to the French Revolution. He is here, as always, most painstaking, most thoughtful, most candid. But he hardly soars to the height of the argument. His estimate of Rousseau appears to me to be specially inadequate. There can be no doubt that the Revolution in the concrete shape (so to speak) which it assumed, was mainly the work of that sophist. It was, in truth, an endeavour to put into practice his theories of man and society, to work the world upon them. The "Declaration of the Rights of the Man and the Citizen," which is the authoritative exposition of the "principles of 1789," and which Burke accurately described as "a sort of institute or digest of anarchy," does in point of fact rest upon these two cardinal doctrines : that the true conception of mankind is that of a mass of sovereign human units, by nature free, equal, and virtuous : and that civil society rests upon a contract entered into by these sovereign units. And unquestionably it was from Rousseau that the framers of the Declaration learnt these doctrines. I must refer those of my readers who would follow this subject further to a recently published work of my own.\* Here I will merely add one remark. Observing that "the Bible of the men who directed the French Revolution was the *Contrat Social* of Rousseau," Mr. Lecky continues : "The doctrine of the social contract was indeed far from new. It may be found . . . in the writings of St. Thomas Aquinas." If Mr. Lecky here means, as I think he does, that Rousseau's doctrine of the social contract may be found in St. Thomas, he greatly errs. Human society, according to the Angelic Doctor, is of divine institution, and political power is from God, although it reaches the ruler *mediante populo*. With Rousseau, human society is of man's creation ; its very source and fount human convention.

W. S. LILLY.

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*The Apostolic and Post-Apostolic Times.* By Dr. LECHLER. Translated by A. J. K. DAVIDSON. Edinburgh : T. & T. Clark. 1886.

A REALLY learned and careful examination of the Tübingen theories from a conservative point of view. Further investigation has modified, as it must needs modify, the theories against which Dr. Lechler argues, and the book, which is republished after an interval of well nigh forty years, is out of date. True, additions have been made, but they are scarcely of a nature to bring the book within

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\* "Chapters in European History," vol. ii. chap. vii.

reach of recent criticism. An attack upon Dr. Weizsäcker's "Apostolic Age" would have been more to the purpose. Still, we for our part believe that Baur in many points of capital importance still holds the field, and perhaps Dr. Lechler is as good a champion of orthodox conservatism as can be found at present. It is quite impossible to deal with a subject so vast within the limits of a notice.

W. E. ADDIS.

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*A Rabbinical Commentary on Genesis from the Juedo-Polish.* By PAUL HERSHON. London: Hodder & Stoughton. 1885.

THIS is the translation of a commentary published in 1693, and is still very popular among Polish Jews. It is scarcely more than a mere curiosity; still, it enables the reader to understand something of orthodox and ignorant Judaism as it exists to-day. The commentary is a curious tangle of fantastic absurdities, which Mr. Hershon has illustrated by notes which are useful, but not altogether free from controversial rancour. Liberal education and equal rights are the true cures for Talmudical orthodoxy; while the wicked persecution to which so-called Christians subject the Jews is the surest means of promoting the authority of the Talmudical schools.

W. E. ADDIS.

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*A Defence of the Church of England against Disestablishment.*  
By Lord SELBORNE.

THIS is a pleasant book to read: temperate, clear, and closely reasoned. Independently of the claim of legal—even equitable—right to the endowments, and that the Church of England is identical with the ancient Church of this country, Lord Selborne makes out a case of considerable strength against the assailants on general grounds. These are well-known, and we need not here specify them; the strongest is that which insists on the forlorn condition of hundreds of rural parishes and districts, if the present provision for their spiritual needs were withdrawn. Catholics have little to say to this part of the argument. Even if the tithes and other endowments were of right resumable by, and at the disposal of, the State in as full a degree as the Liberationists claim, we should still think it most inexpedient, under existing circumstances, that she should exercise that right. The Anglican clergyman might depart, but the Catholic priest would not enter in; and those who did enter would be by no means an improvement on their predecessors. It is when we consider Lord Selborne's elaborate attempt to prove the historic continuity and identity of the Church of England with that in which Warham and Sir Thomas More lived and died, that the dissent of a Catholic commences. After all, his conclusion is absurd and contrary to common sense: *res ipsa vociferatur in contrarium.* What being endowed with intelligence, unless he had a theory to prove, could imagine that the communion to which those persons belonged,

to the number of several hundreds, who were put to death by the Government in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries because they persisted in conforming in religion to the Holy See, was the *same* communion with that which encouraged the Government to take such action, and profited by it? Lord Selborne adopts Dean Hook's comparison of the man who has washed his face. "Once grant," he says,\* "that the things cut off [at the Reformation] were not good in themselves, . . . and Dean Hook's saying, that a man whose face has become dirty may wash off the dirt and yet remain the same man that he was before, undeniably applies." It is strange that so clear-sighted a man does not detect the fallacy in the comparison. The *man* remains the same whatever may happen to him, because he is the *same person* that he was before the change. But the Catholic Church is not a person, and therefore the comparison breaks down in an essential point. The identity of the Church is something moral and religious, and might be lost in a particular nation, even if every person in that nation should deny the loss, and externally all should go on much as before. Would Dr. Hook have said that the Judas who first went to our Lord, and was accepted as an apostle, was morally and spiritually identical with the Judas who took the thirty pieces of silver? There must have been a change, and though that change did not destroy the personal, it obliterated the moral identity. There is therefore no inconsistency in maintaining that a National Church, after it has lost communion with the See of Peter and the rest of Christendom, has changed its identity, even though it may minimize the *local* change—the change in forms, methods, rites, and institutions—to the utmost of its power.

But why, if the English clergy and people in the sixteenth century found that a discipline involving less strain, and a doctrine on grace and the sacraments more in harmony with those embraced by the German and Swiss Protestants, suited them better than the Catholic discipline and belief, should they not have been at liberty to make the requisite changes? From theology and Church history the detailed answer to this question must be sought. Here it is enough to say that the moral constitution of man is such, that he is not *free*, however tempting may be the prospect, knowingly to reject the better and choose the worse. "Be ye *perfect*, even as your Father who is in heaven is perfect." Gardiner and Tunstall, when they subscribed to the article of royal supremacy, knew that they were taking a course for which the utmost that could possibly be said was, that it was *defensible*; the noble and beautiful course, they well knew, would have been to reject the article with Fisher and More. The wretched Cranmer knew that counsels of perfection were a reality, and that his conduct involved a renunciation of them, not for himself only, but for his countrymen; yet he renounced them. In proportion as these things come to be more clearly apprehended, the nobler natures in the Anglican communion will feel that all these dull prudential reasonings of Lord Selborne, not being pervious

to the light of the ideal, cannot and ought not to reconcile them to the plain fact that they are outside the bark of Peter—outside the covenant of Christ.

The carefully constructed pyramid of citations and inferences upon which Lord Selborne endeavours to poise his contention, that the King, or State, claimed as much authority over the Church in England before the Reformation as after it, requires to be met point by point. His general accuracy and fairness of statement leave little to desire; but we have noticed two rather important exceptions. One relates to the royal supremacy. Lord Selborne says (p. 13): “The supremacy of the kings of England over all persons and in all causes ecclesiastical, as well as civil, within their dominions, was at all times practically, as well as in principle, maintained by the assertion and exercise of the power of prohibition.” This amazing statement is supported by reference to passages in Bracton’s great work on the laws of England, compiled in the thirteenth century. But Bracton says nothing of the kind. He recognizes the distinct and independent nature of the two jurisdictions, ecclesiastical and civil. “There are spiritual causes in which the secular judge *has no cognizance nor execution*, since he has no coercive power. For in these causes the cognizance belongs to the ecclesiastical judges, who rule and defend the priesthood. Again, there are secular causes, the cognizance of which belongs to kings and princes, who defend the kingdom, and with which ecclesiastical judges ought not to interfere, since their rights or jurisdictions are limited and separate.”\* And so far from the supremacy of the king “in all causes” being maintained “by the assertion and exercise of the power of prohibition,” Bracton has a long chapter† on those matters “in which prohibition has no place.”

The second matter relates to the supposed assent of the Convocation of the Clergy to the Prayer-book of 1549, before its imposition by Parliament. Lord Selborne quotes ‡ from Foxe an answer sent by Edward VI. to a petition from Devonshire, in which the king declared that the book was “*by the whole clergy agreed*; yea, by the bishops of the realm devised,” and added that the petitioners were opposing themselves to the “determination of the bishops and all the clergy.” But this answer, if not an invention of Foxe himself, is at any rate as false as a Napoleonic bulletin. The Prayer-book of 1549 was based on the deliberations of eighteen bishops, assisted by two or three divines.§ Yet when it came to voting on the Bill imposing the book, eight of these bishops protested against its passing.|| Gardiner, Bishop of Winchester, was in prison. How the ten other bishops voted we do not know, but the materials supplied by Burnet himself¶ make it probable that at least five of them—viz., the Archbishop of York, and the bishops of St. Asaph, Ely, Lichfield, and Bristol, voted against it. So, far, then from the book having been

\* Bracton, ii. 171 (Rolls ed.).

† Vol. vi. 207.

‡ P. 56.

§ Burnet, Hist. Ref. iii. 98.

|| Lords Journals, cited by Lingard.

¶ Hist. Ref. iv. 185.

really grounded on the "determination of the bishops," it is certain that eight protested against it, and one was in prison, while it is highly probable that five others were opposed to it. This makes fourteen; leaving seven or eight bishops who may have been favourable to the Bill. Such was the "assent" of the Upper House of Convocation! However, the matter is not very important; for as all these bishops had accepted the doctrine of the royal supremacy under Henry VIII., it is scarcely doubtful that they would, if sufficient pressure had been applied, have accepted the Prayer-book under Edward VI.

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*Les Corsaires Barbaresques et la Marine de Soliman le Grand.* Par le Vice-Amiral JURIEN DE LA GRAVIÈRE. Paris: E. Plon, Nourrit et Cie. 1887.

VICE-ADMIRAL de la Gravière here gives us another instalment of his history of the naval struggle between the Christians and the Turks in the sixteenth century. A former volume, *Doria et Barbarousse*, already noticed in this REVIEW, showed how the Turks gained the supremacy of the seas by calling in the aid of the Algerian corsairs. The present work is a record of the vain attempts of the Christians to regain the mastery. It is written in the same brilliant and picturesque style as its predecessor, and has the additional advantage of containing four excellent maps.

T. B. S.

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*Histoire Politique de la France.* Par C. DE LOISNE. Paris: E. Plon, Nourrit et Cie. 1886.

THE history of France is interesting to English readers chiefly on account of its contrast to the history of their own country. The countless struggles between the two nations have been merely the symptoms of differences of race and religion, character and institutions. M. de Loisne's book deserves to have many readers on this side of the Channel. He frequently refers to contemporary or contrasted events in English history, and his terrible record of the miseries of the Hundred Years' war will make Englishmen less proud of the glories of Crecy, Poitiers, and Agincourt. An admirable account is given of the gradual growth of the kingdom, or rather the consolidation of the numerous provinces into one compact body. The religious struggles of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries are narrated with strict impartiality. M. de Loisne is no bigot. He deals out censure freely to both parties. The political aims of the Huguenots, their intrigues with the enemies of France, their intolerance and the intolerance of their allies, are thoroughly exposed. At the same time, he denounces the hypocrisy of the sovereigns who persecuted the heretics at home and encouraged them abroad. But the most valuable part of the book is the narrative of the events which led up to the Revolution. The

growth of the bourgeoisie, the corruption of the Court, the folly of the privileged classes, the teaching of the philosophers, are all sketched with great skill. M. de Loisne stops at the opening of the States General. Thenceforth France had no political history—Chaos had come again.

T. B. SCANNELL.

1. *L'Entrée des Israélites dans la Société Française et dans les Etats Chrétiens.* Par l'Abbé JOSEPH LEMANN. Paris: Victor Lecoffre. 1886.
2. *La France Juive.* Par EDOUARD DRUMONT. Paris: C. Marpon et E. Flammarion.

LESS than fifty years since might have been read over the entrance gate of a public promenade, in the suburb of a German city, the following announcement: "Jews and hogs not admitted." Before 1832 no Jew was allowed to open a shop in London, and only in 1846 was the law repealed which obliged Jews to wear a distinctive garb, though such law had long been a dead letter. France had anticipated Jewish emancipation by half-a-century, but it was not till 1784 that Louis XVI. repealed the degrading enactments by which Jews were taxed as cattle. Custom-house regulations like the following had been common in France before that year: "Péage de la Terre de Malemort. Sur chaque bœuf et cochon, et sur chaque juif, un sol. Sur chaque trentenier de même bétail, six sols par trentenier." Since those days the Jew has been allowed access to every condition of social life, and has carried off many of its prizes. Whether at the bar or in commerce, in journalism and science, in music and art, he has been signally successful. A fierce reaction against his further success has set in on the Continent of Europe. Spreading from German clubs and cafés into Russia, the anti-Semitic fever has repeatedly culminated in deeds of violence and bloodshed. And now society in France is beginning to reckon "La Question Juive" among its countless sources of dangerous agitation. The works whose titles appear at the head of our notice are unmistakable signs of the times. The Abbé Lemann, by birth a Jew, now a fervent and holy priest, writes in a strain of ardent affection for the unhappy children of his race. He traces out, by the light of much hitherto unpublished evidence, the history of Jewish emancipation in France. Begun by Louis XVI., with the counsel of Malesherbes, on wise and Christian principles, it was unhappily precipitated by the Revolution, and it is owing in great part to the Revolution that we have a "Question Juive" to-day in France. The "question" is a very simple one: Are we to replace the fetters on the children of Israel?

A valuable portion of the Abbé's work is taken up with the line of action pursued by the Holy See towards the Jews. We find St. Gregory the Great taking them under his protection, and Innocent III. following in the footsteps of his predecessors, Calixtus, Eugene, Alexander, Clement, and Celestine, and followed by many other Pontiffs, safeguarding by a succession of stringent enactments their

liberty of conscience, their ancient usages, and jealously preserving the Hebrew Scriptures while proscribing the Talmud. As the Abbé Grégoire said when pleading their cause before the Constituent Assembly in 1789: "Les Etats du Pape furent toujours leur Paradis terrestre ; leur Ghetto à Rome est encore le même que du temps de Juvenal ; leurs familles sont les plus anciennes familles romaines." If the Popes were as powerless to restrain the fanaticism of the age as they were to control the savagery of the Spanish Inquisition, yet their wise and humane enactments contrast forcibly with the savage hatred of the race displayed by Luther and Voltaire.

M. Drumont's work, which ran through something like eighty editions within three months from its first appearance, breathes the most determined hostility to the Jew, as being in his opinion the deadliest enemy to Christian France. "Le seul auquel la Révolution est profité est le Juif. Tout vient du Juif; tout revient au Juif." France has been delivered up to Israel; finance and the press are under Jewish control; the synagogue has supplanted even the Jacobin club; Baron de Rothschild's three milliards are simply the results of Jewish plunder from the French nation—at least, so thinks M. Drumont. He begins his work with a physiologico-moral study of the race, forgetting nothing in its minuteness, down to the well-known *œtor Judaicus*, said to be the result of feeding too largely on goose-flesh. From the earliest struggles between Aryan and Semite, through mediæval and modern history, he reaches the duumvirate of the two Hebrews, Gambetta and Crémieux, fixing the definitive triumph of Israel in 1872-73. M. Drumont believes that, in France at least, the Jewish race has identified itself with Freemasonry, and that in the interests of society and religion the old disabilities must be again put in force. His array of facts is sufficiently formidable. The ancient tendency to the sanguinary worship of Moloch would hardly seem to be extinct, judging from the frequent charges of murdering and sacrificing children. The leaning of Jews towards the secret societies has been conspicuous for centuries. Their wealth gives them enormous power in deciding the destinies of Europe by the control of the sinews of war, so that without following M. Drumont to the end, it is impossible to deny that Jewish exclusiveness and *solidarité* constitute a factor that cannot be disregarded in our political reckonings at the present day. M. Drumont's work is still more interesting as a vivid picture, though a partial one, of Parisian society. His judgment on what remains in France of the old *noblesse* is severe. Apart from some brilliant exceptions like Montalembert or De Mun, he deplores "la radicale impossibilité de l'aristocratie française d'être utile à quelque chose :" is of opinion that "le cerveau de l'aristocrate est très-faiblement organisé," and gives a lively picture of the way in which a Frenchman's ruling passion, "le désir de s'amuser," made the representatives of the De Broglies, Gramonts, and Beaumonts crowd the salons of an enemy of Christ, to figure as owls, giraffes, dogs, wolves, and seals in a *bal aux animaux*, to honour the sacrilegious profanation of St. Geneviève, in the month of May, 1885.

*The Christian Platonists of Alexandria.* By CHARLES BIGG, D.D.  
The Bampton Lectures for 1886. Oxford : at the Clarendon  
Press. 1886.

THIS volume contains the eight lectures delivered last year before the University of Oxford on the Bampton Foundation. The teaching of Clement of Alexandria and Origen occupies the central and most important part of the book. This is preceded by an account of Philo, and followed by one of the reformed Paganism (particularly that of Celsus), and of the influence and fate of Alexandrine teaching in later Christian ages. The notes, which expand these lectures into an ample volume, attest the great learning and care which the author has brought to his subject, and in these respects make it a work fit to rank besides the treatises of Westcott and Lightfoot, of which the sister University may be so justly proud. It would be impossible to give any detailed account, within the limits of an ordinary notice, of a book which travels over such an extensive surface, and enters into so many questions ; we must therefore confine ourselves to giving a general idea of what the reader will find there. The author starts from premisses, and follows a method which are unhappily not ours ; it is therefore natural to find there are many isolated points in which a Catholic cannot agree. His desire to be perfectly fair is, however, always obvious ; and even when Catholic doctrine has not been apprehended, it is from no want of attempt to understand it. Indeed, his perfect fairness makes his account of many controverted points (for instance, Clement's belief in the Real Presence) somewhat shadowy and indistinct. We think that throughout the volume Dr. Bigg has involved himself in needless difficulties by not allowing sufficiently for the want of precision inevitable before a theological vocabulary had been constructed, and for the semi-poetical, mystical language of the great Alexandrines. This is particularly true of Clement, whom he very aptly compares to Jeremy Taylor : we should hardly look for much accuracy or consistency in that delightful writer. But these and similar corrections will be made by all who are likely to read these lectures, and who can hardly fail to learn something from each of them. As examples of the sort of matter to be looked for, we may mention, almost at random, the influence of Philo and the Egyptian Jews on the doctrine of the Logos ; the teaching of the early Gnostics ; the use of words expressing Substance and Person "in divinis" ; the account of allegorism (which, however, we should largely modify) ; the Christology of Clement and Origen, and their relation to mystical theology and quietism. Origen's more doubtful opinions are fully discussed ; he is defended against St. Jerome (to whom our author seems hardly just) on the charge of subordinationism, and against Jansenins in the matter of free-will and predestination. His whole relation to the later teaching of the Church is justified on the ground of development, an explanation which is hardly open to the author, since he seems to disavow it when used for their own purposes by Catholics.

The general reader is more likely to be interested by the happy sentences which Dr. Bigg profusely quotes. Such are—from Clement, the statement that reason, the image of God, is the “love-charm,” which makes man dear to God for his own sake; the pathetic sentence, “the Lord that died for us is not our enemy;” or again, “a religious meal is itself an Eucharist.” The quotations from Origen are, as might be expected, more abundant. A Catholic will see a deeper meaning than Dr. Bigg discovers in Origen’s assertion, that “none can grasp the sense of St. John unless he has fallen on the breast of Jesus, and received from Jesus, Mary to become his mother.” The medicinal nature of all punishment is enforced by the urgent sentence—“Let each one then, being conscious of sin, pray that he may be punished.” This culminates in a striking passage on purgatory—“The Lord is like a refiner’s fire. It is certain that the fire which is prepared for sinners awaits us, and we shall go into that fire, wherein God will try each man’s work what it is. Even if it be a Paul or a Peter, he shall come into that fire; but such are they of whom it is written, though thou ‘pass through the fire, the flames shall not scorch thee.’” These fragmentary quotations will, we trust, be sufficient to send all to the work itself who are prepared to enjoy it.

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*Goethe. Sein Leben und seine Werke.* Von ALEXANDER BAUMGARTNER, S.J. Three volumes. Freiburg: Herder. 1887.  
[“The Life and Works of Goethe.” By Father A. Baumgartner, S.J.]

NOWHERE, perhaps, after Germany, is Goethe more appreciated and read than in England. Two of his greatest admirers did much to bring him home to English thought—Lewes and Carlyle. Lewes thought him the most splendid genius—nay, the very type—of the German people; whilst Carlyle, by his classical translation of “Wilhelm Meister,” did not hesitate to recommend it as a most appropriate means of modern education. As to the celebrated poem “Faust,” it may be interesting to English Catholics to learn that there are more than thirty English translations of it, not one of which is by a Catholic. It will be useful to now lay before the English reader some account of the results of a work which may be justly considered to mark an epoch in Goethe criticism.

All the biographers of Goethe, whether German or foreigners, make a fatal mistake. They regard their hero neither from a Catholic nor yet from a general Christian standpoint; but, rather, regard him as simply superior to all criticism, religious or ethical. Their baneful principle is that the workings of a genius such as Goethe’s are not to be judged by the dogmas or morals of any religious denomination. Goethe, according to them the finest blossom of the German people, deserves only admiration and imitation; to drag him before a Christian tribunal would be treasonable. F. Baumgartner views Goethe in quite another way. He works on the indisputably right principle, that the great poets of Germany, besides largely influenc-

ing the development of our language, have immensely contributed to shape the philosophical and religious ideas of our people. Only one who shuts his eyes can bring himself to doubt the fact that thousands, nay, millions of Germans give more credit to Goethe than to the Gospel. Hence our author goes on to measure Goethe by the test of Catholic and Christian principles of dogma, morals, and aesthetics. Far from being a narrow-minded critic, bent only or chiefly on spying out the hero's shortcomings, F. Baumgartner gladly and willingly brings into prominence the splendid gifts of Goethe and his immortal merit as a writer of German; and Father Baumgartner is himself no mean poet, and is better qualified to pass a judgment on Goethe than many of his more unreservedly laudatory biographers.

The result of such a treatment—such judicious and balanced praise—has produced a deep impression in Germany among both Protestants and Catholics, who have appreciated the qualifications, grasp, and power of the critic. Father Baumgartner's volumes combine vast extent of information, gathered from every quarter, with original researches in Weimar and Frankfurt, and are written in a noble and brilliant style.

Having thus pointed out what is of chief importance—viz., the principles by which F. Baumgartner has been guided—it will suffice to mention that the first volume is occupied with the period (1749-1790) of Goethe's "Lehr- und Wanderjahre": it traces his youth and his journeys through Italy, the classical reminiscences and monuments of which so deeply impressed him. In the second volume (1790-1805) we have the poet in the zenith of his career, whilst working at Weimar by the side of Schiller. The third volume (1806-1832) is mainly occupied in explaining the "Faust." Had F. Baumgartner given us only this part, it would have sufficed to permanently establish its author among the best literary men of Catholic Germany. The sublime and great religious ideas embodied in the "Faust" are borrowed from the Catholic religion, whilst its shortcomings show the ceaseless weariness of a genius who wilfully betrayed the faith in our Lord, and sank to the level of a pagan. Dante, it may be taken for granted, is the poet of St. Thomas's religious system; hence he is familiar to every Catholic mind. On the contrary, Goethe is the—alas! too successful—poet of a system decidedly at variance with every form of Christianity. His works prove all the more disastrous because their brilliant style combines with a keen appreciation of the *natural* order of things. A translation, therefore, of Baumgartner's work into English would be quite as meritorious an undertaking as was that of Professor Hettinger's work on Dante.

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BELLESHEIM.

*Un Gentilhomme des Temps Passées : François de Scépeaux, Sire de Vielleville, 1509-1571.* Par Madame C. COIGNET. Paris : E. Plon, Nourrit et Cie. 1886.

MADAME Coignet has already published an interesting study on Francis I. The present volume is a further contribution to the history of the sixteenth century. While giving us the biography of her hero, she takes care to bring before us the men among whom he lived and the great events in which he took part. Thus she gives us some account of the duel of Jarnac, the war with Charles V., the campaign in Italy, the relations between Henry II. and Diana of Poitiers, the death of the king, and the bloody contests between the Catholics and Huguenots. The book is written in the charming style for which French authoresses are famous.

T. B. S.

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*Un Royaliste Libéral en 1789 : Jean-Joseph Mounier, sa Vie Politique et ses Ecrits.* Par L. DE LANZAC DE LABORIE. Paris : E. Plon, Nourrit et Cie. 1887.

*Georges Cadoudal et La Chouannerie.* Par son neveu, GEORGES DE CADOUDAL. Paris : E. Plon, Nourrit et Cie. 1887.

THE approaching centenary of the opening of the States General is drawing extraordinary attention to the study of the history of the French Revolution. To Frenchmen that study is of the utmost practical importance. After a hundred years of trouble and change, the old problems are still unsolved, and France is without even the prospect of a stable government. No wonder, then, that the causes of that great event, and the aims and characters of the men who took part in it, should still be studied with the greatest interest. The two works above named bring before us two very different types of public men. Mounier was emphatically a moderate man. "C'était un homme passionément raisonnable," says Mme. de Staël. He had carefully studied the theory of the English Constitution in the works of Montesquieu, Blackstone, and Delolme, and the continual perusal of English newspapers showed him the practical working of the system. His object was to preserve and improve the monarchy. Privileges and proscriptions were alike hateful to him, and he had consequently to bear the attacks of both nobles and demagogues. His election to the presidency of the Assembly, and his speedy exile, do not surprise us. Such is often the fate of men who are opposed to violent measures : the two extreme parties, in a momentary fit of reason, raise a moderate man to power, but they soon recover their normal violence, and their hero becomes their victim. During his exile he wrote two works bearing on the events in which he had taken so great a part, "Recherches sur les causes qui ont empêché les Français de devenir libres," and "De l'influence attribuée aux philosophes, aux franc-maçons et aux illuminés sur la Révolution de France," of which an admirable analysis is given by M. De Lanzac de Laborie. Mounier gradually lost heart as the

terrible course of events progressed. He never, indeed, entirely gave up the dreams of his early years, but, like so many others, he came to the conclusion that under the circumstances liberty must be sacrificed to order, and thus the orator and writer who had devoted himself to the defence of monarchy and of freedom, returned to France, and died as an official of military despotism.

History has been rather severe on Georges Cadoudal. He is known chiefly on account of his connection with the conspiracy of 1804 against Napoleon, but his previous career as a soldier had been honourable and brilliant. Born of humble parents, he raised himself by conspicuous ability and bravery to be commander of the Catholic and royal forces in Brittany. He successfully resisted the republican armies long after the subjugation of La Vendée, and it was not till after the *coup d'état* of the 18 Brumaire that he was compelled to make peace. Napoleon at once offered him the position of General of division, but Georges remained faithful to the Bourbons. Thenceforth there was the most violent antipathy between the two men. Napoleon gave orders that Georges should be secured, alive or dead. Georges escaped to England, but his brother and the brother of his fiancée were put to death. After various adventures he conceived the bold plan of attacking Bonaparte in broad day, and carrying him off to England. Pitt entered into the project, and contributed a liberal supply of guineas. It is worthy of note that St. Helena was to be the ultimate destination of the captive. The plot failed, and Georges himself was made prisoner. At his trial he behaved with his usual boldness. He made no defence; but he protested that he had no intention of being an assassin. Even after his condemnation he was offered his life if he would enter the service of his captor, but he once more rejected the offer with scorn. He had only one request to make, and it was, that as he had led his comrades in the fight, he should be first to suffer. In prison he received all the consolations of religion from the Abbé de Keravenan. A touching incident is related of his last moments. The good priest made him recite the "Hail Mary." Georges stopped at the words, "pray for us sinners now." "Go on," said the priest. "What is the use?" said Georges, "is not *now* the hour of my death?"

A word of praise must be given to the authors of these two excellent works. M. De Lanzac de Laborie writes as a politician and a lawyer, and treats more of the public life of his subject. It is no exaggeration to say that he has produced a model political biography. To M. de Cadoudal (the family was ennobled as a reward for Georges' services) the vindication of his uncle's fame has been a labour of love. The romantic events in the life of his hero are narrated in a forcible and vivid style, and the copious collection of *pièces justificatives* makes his work of great historical value. It is sad to learn that the author did not live to see the publication of his book.

T. B. SCANNELL.

*The Western Avernus; or, Toil and Travel in Further North America.*  
By MORLEY ROBERTS. London: Smith, Elder & Co. 1887.

THOUGH given to lapse into fine writing in his descriptions of scenery, the author's account of his "roughing it" in Further North America is vigorous and graphic. A fair map shows the writer's progress from a Texan sheep ranche, *via* Chicago, St. Paul, Manitoba, and the Rockies, to Vancouver Island, Victoria, and San Francisco. Sometimes tramping it, oftener working on the railroads, the experience recorded is certainly rough enough, and if a little monotonous, is very readable. But the author's persistent insistence on his being cultured and educated adds neither novelty nor interest to the situation. Both North and South America are full of educated men who have missed their mark in Europe.

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*An Elementary French Grammar.* Based upon the Accidence of the "New Grammar of French Grammars." By DR. V. DE FIVAS, M.A., F.E.I.S., &c. London: Crosby Lockwood & Co. 1887.

THIS is an abridgment, for the use of beginners, of the well-known "Grammar of Grammars," now in its forty-eighth edition. It is an excellent grammar, and there are added well-chosen selections in prose and verse from standard authors, with French-English vocabulary; forming altogether a most useful class-book.

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*A Good Hint for Hard Times.* With other Stories, original and translated. By FRANCIS WINTERTON. London: Thomas Richardson & Son.

THESE are six short but amusing stories, some being translations from the Polish and German. The chief incident, however, in "An Artful Rogue," in which a pair of "unmentionables" are detained for debt, is, curiously enough, identical with that of a story called "Raising the Wind" which appeared many years ago in "George Cruickshank's Omnibus."

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*The Life of Sir Joseph Napier, Bart., ex-Lord Chancellor of Ireland.*  
A Political Biography. By ALEX. CHARLES EWALD, F.S.A. London: Longmans, Green & Co. 1887.

THE late Sir Joseph Napier, youngest son of a Belfast merchant, and descended from the Napiers of Merchistoun, was placed at an early age under the tuition of James Sheridan Knowles, the dramatist. As a youth he showed talent, and when called to the bar rapidly made way, becoming under Lord Derby's first and second Administrations—first, Attorney-General, and then Lord Chancellor of Ireland. Sir Joseph was naturally pious and an evangelical of the Shaftesbury school, and though not so fanatical as a Newdigate,

fully believed that England's greatness was identical with and inseparable from her Protestantism. Yet he seems to have acted honestly up to his lights, and was an honourable opponent, while sharing largely in the narrow views of his class. Although his career differs essentially very little from those of other successful lawyers, his political life is at least instructive in showing how different were the methods of political warfare before we borrowed so much from American tactics, and had descended to others even less creditable. The work is chiefly derived from his private correspondence, and Mr. Ewald has accomplished his task with sympathy and care. The volume is embellished with a steel engraving of an exceptionally interesting portrait.

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*Albrecht Dürer.* Von L. Kaufmann. 2 Auflage. Freiburg: Herder. 1886.

A MONGST German painters known and esteemed in England, perhaps Hans Holbein ranks first, whose works may be seen in Hampton Court and not a few English private galleries. He is much surpassed, however, by Albrecht, or Albert Dürer, of Nuremberg, whose glory is to be pre-eminent as both painter and engraver. Dürer's biographies by M. Thausing and A. von Eye, both Protestants, were wanting in point of accuracy and also of fairness as regards the artist's religious opinions. There was an opening, therefore, for a Catholic author; and Mr. Kaufmann has prepared for this work by diligent study through many years of Dürer's masterpieces. His work is small indeed as to size, but is a thorough treatment of its subject; Dürer is accurately estimated as a painter, engraver, and woodcutter. A chief object of inquiry, however, has been, how far was Dürer a disciple of Luther. When the latter first opposed certain abuses, Dürer certainly did not conceal his sympathy with him; but in course of time, becoming better acquainted with his system and its results, he left him, and died a Catholic. The value of the book is enhanced by fourteen heliographs and woodcuts representing the chief works of the master.

BELLESHEIM.

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*Early Letters of Thomas Carlyle.* Edited by CHARLES ELIOT NORTON. Two vols. London: Macmillan & Co.

THESE volumes of letters are valuable both as a contribution to literature and as a help to the study of Carlyle's character, by picturing him, his studies and interests at the period when his young powers were ripening. He was an industrious letter-writer in these years of early manhood, seldom letting a week pass without a letter home, not unfrequently writing two, three or four to different members of the family on the same day. These domestic letters, the editor truly observes, give a striking illustration of the simpler side of Scottish life of that date. The first volume extends from 1814 to

1821, contains a very interesting Preface from Mr. Norton's pen, and has as a frontispiece an etching of Carlyle's mother at the age of seventy-one—the mother, aged and well-beloved, to whom many dutiful and considerate passages in this volume were written. The second volume covers from 1821 to 1826, and contains a portrait of Mrs. Carlyle, painted in 1826. A frequent topic in these letters to friends, more especially in those to Miss Jane Welsh (afterwards his wife), is the works he is studying, or has studied, and recommends to others, with criticism of their value—often in somewhat of the sharp peremptory tone of later years.

But the chief points of interest about the volumes is, that they are (intentionally) a corrective to the unfair portraiture of Mr. Froude's biography. "The view of Mr. Carlyle's character," says Mr. Norton, "presented in that biography has not approved itself to many of those who knew Carlyle best. It may be a striking picture, but it is not a good portrait." The point about which Carlyle's friends and admirers are sorest, perhaps, is the misrepresentation—as they insist it is—of the relations between Carlyle and his wife. We can only here say that Mr. Norton has felt it due to the memory alike of the man and his wife to open and read the lovers' letters which passed between them in their early days before marriage, and to give in these volumes the chief portions of many of these letters. Mr. Froude's use of these most private letters, the editor says, "seems to me, on general grounds, unjustifiable, and the motives he alleges for it inadequate." But far worse is the conviction, here recorded as confirmed by a perusal of the letters themselves, that "Mr. Froude has distorted their significance, and given a view of the relations between Carlyle and his future wife, in essential points incorrect and injurious to their memory."

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*The Spirits of Darkness, and their Manifestations on Earth.* By Rev. JOHN GMEINER. Chicago: Hoffmann Bros.

FATHER GMEINER has made a careful study of his subject from many points of view. He has clearly shown that both the Holy Scriptures and the general belief of mankind have given the strongest testimony to the existence of spirits. He has gathered together a formidable array of "facts," which seem to give powerful evidence in the same direction. The author, we venture to think, has done a serviceable work in striving to revive the faith of the world in the existence of the spirits of evil. It has begun to be looked upon as superstition to believe in such things, and modern "spiritualism" has helped this delusion, by summoning back to earth "departed friends," who are, in reality, nothing else than wicked spirits. Father Gmeiner speaks without gloss on this matter:

Modern spiritualism is nothing essentially new; it is only a revival, in the midst of Christian society, of practices known to both ancient and modern heathens—practices which the Bible and the Church have always declared unlawful and abominable before God (Deuter. xviii. 9-12).

What may be new in modern spiritualism is the *manner* in which evil spirits manifest themselves. It would frustrate their designs if they would openly show, in the midst of Christian society, their real and undisguised character; for Christianity has civilized people at least so much that any such thing would not be tolerated. Hence, even the evil spirits are compelled to "behave" in Christian countries; and hence they *transform themselves into angels of light* (2 Cor. xi. 14)—that is, they pretend to be the spirits of dear departed friends or other well-meaning persons, to dupe such as believe them (p. 258).

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*Gems of Catholic Thought: Sayings of Eminent Catholic Authors.* By ANNA T. SADLIER. New York: Catholic Publication Society Co.

MANY persons will no doubt be glad to have this tasteful little book. The compiler has selected a number of thoughts from Catholic writers, many of which are entitled to be called "gems." She does not profess to have laid all our best writers under contribution, and thus, in some respects, disarms criticism.

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*Le Roman Russe.* By the Vicomte E. M. DE VOGÜÉ. Paris: E. Plon, Nourrit & Cie. 1886.

IT is not obvious why, though there are so many points of political contact and rivalry between England and Russia, so little interest is here felt in the literature of the latter country. Both France and Germany produce far more translations of Russian works than appear in England. The unique position of the Czardom with reference to the civilized world is alone enough to invest the subject with much interest. The insufficiency of the orthodox Church, prostrate under the autoocratic heel, to supply the spiritual wants of the nation, the frustration of material as well as moral progress by a paralyzing despotism, have engendered in the minds of its reflecting subjects a spirit of pessimism or a spirit of revolt which we have often seen in these times culminate in acts of futile violence which only beget a counter and reactionary policy of coercion, or far more widely find the expression, of which in other countries journalism is the vehicle, in a subtler, half-veiled, yet forcible way in literature.

It is rather in a broad spirit, as an utterance of this tendency and a reflection of this conflict, than, in a mere literary purview, as imaginative composition, that the novel of Russia is considered in the valuable critical studies before us.

For my part (says M. de Vogüé) without going back to causes which are general, enduring, and as old as the world itself, a statement that sufficiently explains the present crisis is, that pessimism is the natural parasite of the Void, and, when both faith and love are absent, exists of necessity in their stead. When such a condition is reached, pessimism is naturally begotten, and needs no Schopenhauer to inspire its invention. Two varieties withal are to be distinguished. One is the materialistic pessimism, resigned, if only its daily provender of pleasure be supplied, it determined to despise men while turning them as far as possible to account for its enjoyments. We see it displayed in contemporary (French) literature. The other is the suffering pessimism of revolt,

hiding hope under its maledictions. The last term of the Nihilistic revolution, it is also the first symptom of a moral uprising. Not without reason has this been called the instrument of all progress, for the world is never transformed or improved by those whom it fully satisfies.

There was in Russia, as in the rest of Europe, a fashion of Romanticism, but its span was brief. Those who read and wrote in a nation of sixty millions of inhabitants and barely half-a-dozen newspapers, caught the Byron fever which infected Europe. But Poushkin, by far the most conspicuous patient, was only half a Russian, and the least characteristically Russian of any Muscovite writer. Byronism and Romanticism were but strange exotic fruits, imported and enjoyed for the most part by those only who had travelled where they grew. These products of a different social stage, transplanted to Russia, found no congenial soil, and withered before they were even tasted by the masses. They served the fops and dandies who floated on the top of society to fill up the albums of St. Petersburg and Moscow. But for the bulk of the people life was too terribly material for such fantastic toys to take its attention. The ear of the nation was reserved for those who could grasp and describe the dire and urgent reality, and utter, even half-stifled the cry which it required genius fully to articulate.

This at least is a main cause why realism is pre-eminent in Russian literature. The history of letters shows that the chief literary productions of any particular time usually affect one prevailing literary form—as, for instance, the Elizabethan drama in England. The hard and bitter littleness of the contemporary world is most aptly told in prose. There is enough hardness and bitterness in Russia. The world of letters, as the wider world of the people, is a prey to the besetting melancholy of the Slavonic race. Nor is there need to resort to tragic fancy when there is many real woes, or to dally with literary tricks and ornaments. The realistic novel in which, M. de Vogüé declares—and we incline to agree with him—Russia has excelled the West.

There is a realism indeed of another and very different kind from that of Zola and the fellowship of the *école stercoraire*. In the modern Russian novel this other higher realism has been developed to the highest degree by some of Russia's recent writers. It is a realism which is not centred wholly round the baser passions of humanity, but deals with lofty as well as ignoble pictures of men. If we are often trailed through the mire, it is not unmitigated mire, but relieved by those contrasts which make us realize its filth and avoid defilement. Of course we are here speaking of those chief and conspicuous productions which are recognized by the nation as at once its pride and a reflection of itself—works such as those of Tourguénief, Tolstoi, Dostoevsky, Soltykof. There is, of course, in Russia, as elsewhere, a reptile gang of bookmakers incapable of greatness themselves, ready to belittle or bespatter it in others, and prompt to truckle to vice and frivolity, by copying what has had such baneful success elsewhere. Their feats in this direction are wholly

mercenary, and proceed to any excess that the law permits, or general opinion tolerates.

There is a factor which cannot be disregarded in considering the career of Russian literature—it is the censorship of the Press. Some idea of the rigour as well as the childishness with which this has been exercised may be gathered from the fact that the word “liberty” in all its acceptations was prohibited, just as the word “king” was under the French terror—“identical puerilities of despotism,” as M. de Vogüé observes, “whether it come from above or below.” Even certain pocket-handkerchiefs, which were imprinted with portraits of the Pope and foreign Sovereigns, were confiscated by the Custom house, on account of the disrespectful use to which they would be put. This state of things was what came to be called the “censorial terror.” These absurd extremes were discontinued in time, but, as the reader need scarcely be told, the relaxation of the censorship was only of a very limited degree even under Alexander II. And this is why, after 1854, Russia’s chief and most original writers resorted instinctively to the novel as the mode of utterance which best admitted of *inuendo*, of reading between the lines, of the *sous-entendre*—in fine, of cheating the censor. It is not idly we dwell on this, for it has been all-powerful in shaping the destinies of Russian literature—even in determining its form. It is in this form we must look for Russian contemporary views of philosophy, history, politics. In this form alone will the genuine history of the Russian people for the last half-century be found. In this its only genuine literature will be discerned its muffled cry of the mixed anguish of dark suffering and glimmering hope under a deadening and deathly despotism.

So persistent has been the censor, so intense has been the need and instinct of expression, that a kind of cryptographic style has been developed, in which, above all their compeers, Soltykof and Dostoevsky have been pre-eminent.

Dostoevsky, who had himself a bitter experience of political exile, undertook the hardest that author ever had. It was to speak of Siberia, that secret land which was not so much as named willingly at that period. Even the diction of the Law Courts often substituted for the dreaded word a euphemism—the Court sentenced to transportation “to very remote parts.” And it was a former political prisoner who undertook to walk over the coals and challenge the censorship; and he gained the day. The first condition of success was to ignore the existence of such a thing as political convicts, and withal to bring home to us what refinements of suffering await a man who is precipitated from the upper classes of society into the infamous Siberian gang of common criminals.

The consequence of all this is not easily realized in the comparative liberty even of the most despotic States of our Western Europe. The public—the word even is scarcely applicable with reference to Russia—or such of the nation as have reflection and feeling beyond merely personal ones, exercise them in a different way, and acquire a different habit of mind—certainly of expression—to those which prevail in freer and more enlightened States. We here mostly greet a novel or romance as a work of art, or at least a relaxation and distraction from the cares or woes of life—the momentary substitution

of imaginary for real interest—and accordingly scarcely allow them, at any rate with rare exceptions, an important place in national life. In Russia the case is (and, taking what we have said into account, we think necessarily) very different. What with us is an article of luxury is their intellectual daily bread.

It is (says M. de Vogüé, p. 144) their golden age of the higher literature, the period that has been traversed by literature in the youth of all peoples, in Asia, in Greece, in mediæval Christendom; the age where the writer is the leader of his race, the only master in teeming anarchy of ideas, to some extent still the shaper of the national tongue. He is, in a word, προφήτης in the pristine and integral sense of the word—a *vates*, or prophet, from whom simple-hearted earnest readers, new comers in the world of thought, yearning for guidance, enthusiastically magnifying the power of human genius, ask a gospel, a meaning for life, a complete revelation of the ideal. The restricted cultured circle, it is true, have long attained to a dilettanteism which may vie with, if not surpass, our own; but the lower classes are beginning to read, and they read with passion, with faith, and with hope, as our children read “Robinson Crusoe.” They were well designated as “Virgin Soil,” by Tourguénief. The book strikes their impressionable imagination with the full shock of its impact, which is not deadened, as among us, by a vast intellectual establishment; ideas have not been scattered, nor the power of attention frittered away by journalism.

The above may be an exaggerated statement, but in the main we are ready to endorse it. In no other country, we feel convinced, to some extent, by personal experience, is the appearance of a work from one of its few great authors so universally recognized by all parties, and so widely welcomed as an event little short of national.

We have here dwelt chiefly upon the interest of Russian contemporary literature, of which the novel is the main development, as the only genuine utterance of a great nation—a great rival with us in the world. It is a regrettable mistake to disregard it because it does not always square with our Western canons of art, or put on the symmetrical forms to which a wholly different literary history has accustomed us. It is the most vital expression of a people destined to play a great part in future Europe, and is surely worth more attention than it has as yet received in England.

*Modern Hinduism ; Being an Account of the Religion and Life of the Hindus in Northern India.* By W. J. WILKINS, of the London Missionary Society. London : T. Fisher Unwin. 1887.

THE Rev. Mr. Wilkins is able to speak of Hinduism with the authority derived from a long residence and many years of active work in India. Like many of his brethren, after having endeavoured to impart some knowledge of Christianity to the Hindus, he is now devoting his energies to teaching Christians something about Hinduism, and, whatever may have been his qualifications for the former task, he is certainly well qualified for the latter. His book is a very useful addition to the literature of the subject. There has been too often a tendency among English writers to treat Hinduism as a book-religion, and to give far too great a prominence to its older forms as we find them embalmed or fossilized in the *Veda* and the

classical literature. Again, many writers, misled by the false analogy of a Christian Church, or of an organized religion like Mohammedanism, have tried to find in Hinduism a unity which it does not possess. Mr. Wilkins gives us a picture drawn from the life. We see not one firmly organized whole, but a seething mass of sects, some falling into decay, others rising up to take their place. Again we are told how his religion, or at least its ceremonial, is interwoven with his life, from the cradle to the grave and beyond it. We see what his domestic ceremonies and his temple-worship really are like. There is not much discussion upon all these things, nor is much space devoted to working out their origin, or giving them an inner meaning. Our author seeks to describe rather than to explain, and he describes all the better, because he keeps theory well in the background. His object is to let us see something of Hinduism through the light of his own experience, and he has produced a thoroughly readable book, which should be in the hands of all who are interested in the comparative study of religions, and which would be a very useful addition to the libraries of our missionary colleges.

One of Mr. Wilkins's most interesting chapters is that which deals with the modern Deistic sects, the Brahmo-Samaj, and its offshoots. Much of what he says may be taken as a very useful corrective to the exaggerated estimate of those bodies to which Professor Max Müller has given currency in England. Keshub Chunder Sen's curious proclamation of the "New Dispensation" is given at length. It is dated "New Year's Day, January 1, 1883," and it begins thus:—

Keshub Chunder Sen, a servant of God, called to be an apostle of the Church of the New Dispensation, which is in the Holy City of Calcutta, the metropolis of Aryavarta.

To all the great nations in this world, and to the chief religious sects in the East and in the West.

To the followers of Moses, of Jesus, of Buddha, of Confucius, of Zoroaster, of Mahomet, of Nanac, and to the various branches of the Hindu Church.

To the saints and the sages, the bishops and the elders, the ministers and the missionaries of all these religious bodies:

Grace be unto you and peace everlasting.

Then, after a protest against sectarian divisions, the whole earth is invited to accept the "New Dispensation" of peace and unity, at the hands of the Hindu teacher, who begins his message with the prophetic formula of the Old Testament: "Thus saith the Lord." Keshub died a year later. "After his death," says Mr. Wilkins, "his family and the Apostolic Durbar, as the council of the apostles of the New Dispensation was called, refused to allow the platform from which he had taught to be used, it being declared that Keshub, though absent in body, was still the leader of the society. This may be the first step towards the deification of their great leader." The Indian census shows that the new theistic sects number a mere handful of followers. They are already, in many instances, fast drifting into what looks very like a resumption of idolatrous worship.

Probably the final outcome of Brahmoism will be a slight leavening of some forms of Hinduism with Christian ideas—a process of which there are abundant traces in Southern Hinduism of an earlier period.

A. HILLIARD ATTERIDGE.

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*Louise de Keroualle, Duchesse de Portsmouth.* 1649-1734. Par H. FORNERON. Paris: E. Plon, Nourrit et Cie. 1886.

THE heroine of these pages, who came to England, a young girl of twenty, in the train of Henrietta of Orleans, was perhaps the one woman with any show of respectability and grace, and certainly the only woman with an intelligent notion of politics, of the many mistresses of Charles II. It is well known how much the King was influenced by these creatures; his political decisions being too often the whim or caprice, or angry resolution, of one of these women. This explains the interest of the subject for a Frenchman. Louis XIV. himself looked to Louise as a most powerful political agent at the English Court, and did not look in vain. M. Forneron's contention is, therefore, only too true that the historical student has to know something of the *vie intime* of that Court before he can fully appreciate and fairly estimate the motives and causes of events. It is, however, a somewhat outspoken account which he has given; and whilst the mature student will find much that is useful here, with feelings of profound shame for much else that goes with it, the book is emphatically not one for the general reader, or the young.

*A Practical Introduction to English Rhetoric; Precepts and Exercises*  
By Rev. CHARLES COPPENS, S.J., Author of "The Art of  
Oratorical Composition." New York: The Catholic Publica-  
tion Society Company. 1886.

THE principles of rhetoric are here laid down with sufficient clear-  
ness. Anything newer, whether of criticism or illustration,  
will hardly commend the book on this side of the Atlantic.

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1. *A Treatise in Spherical Trigonometry. With Applications to Spherical Geometry.* By WILLIAM T. McCLELLAND, M.A., and THOMAS PRESTON, B.A. Part II. London: Macmillan. 1886.
2. *Units and Physical Constants.* By J. D. EVERETT, M.A., D.C.L., F.R.S. London: Macmillan. 1886.

THE above "Spherical Trigonometry" by McClelland and Preston, is a very good manual, particularly for students who have little time to spare for pure mathematics. As to the text, which contains only the most important theorems in a concise and simple form, there is joined, in small print, sufficient material from which the student may select what he further requires. The order and clear arrangement of both matter and type, the admirable "get-up" of the book, are deserving of great praise. At the same time the

addition of a few more practical problems, taken from astronomy, &c., would have made the book still more interesting.

We are greatly indebted to Professor Everett, who has brought out a new work entitled "Units and Physical Constants," which is very valuable, not only for the physical laboratory but also for the office of the technical operator. With a fair knowledge of mathematics and physics, the student feels himself quite at home, having at his disposal a book which gives in a very compact form and in a clear striking manner the most correct and reliable values, constantly required in researches and experiments.

We might point out one important feature in this work, which makes it rather original: it is the general theory of units based on the "Centimètre-Gramme-Second" (or C.G.S.) system" as it is called. Every physicist knows how tedious it is to hunt after constants in a great variety of works and tables, based on different systems. We are sure that this work, which must have cost a great deal of labour to the author, will be still more appreciated when the C.G.S. system has become more universal and popular.

F. LANDOTT.

*Sketches of the Royal Irish Constabulary.* By MICHAEL BROPHY, Ex-Sergeant R.I.C. London: Burns & Oates. 1886.

MR. MICHAEL BROPHY, in his "Sketches of the Royal Irish Constabulary," explains the organization and gives an outline of the history of his old corps, in which he served for twenty-five years. The book is full of interesting matter, and contains not a few good stories.

1. *Poems.* By JAMES CLARENCE MANGAN. The O'Connell Press. Dublin: M. H. Gill & Son. 1886.
2. *Irish Melodies.* By THOMAS MOORE. The O'Connell Press. Dublin: M. H. Gill & Son. 1886.
3. *The Vicar of Wakefield.* By OLIVER GOLDSMITH. The O'Connell Press. Dublin: M. H. Gill & Son. 1886.
4. *On Irish Affairs.* By EDMUND BURKE. The O'Connell Press. Dublin: W. H. Gill & Son. 1886.

THE O'Connell Press is bringing out an edition of standard works by Irish authors, excellently printed, for 3d. each. The poems of that unhappy genius, Clarence Mangan, are especially to be recommended: they are too little known, and they contain, as well as his national verses, many admirable translations from the German, and some most touching glimpses of the struggle of his own unfortunate career.

And from path to path His mercy tracked me—  
And from many a peril snatched He me,  
When false friends pursued, betrayed, attacked me,  
When gloom overdarked and sickness racked me,  
He was by to save and free!

The edition of the "Irish Melodies" of Moore is also very good, and "The Vicar of Wakefield," though a pocket copy, is in brilliantly clear type.

The selection from Edmund Burke's writings on Irish affairs bears on its title-page the following apt quotation from Mr. Gladstone's speech in the House of Commons on April 13:—

The writings of Mr. Burke upon Ireland, and still more upon America, are a mine of gold for the political wisdom with which they are charged, applicable to the circumstances of to-day, and full of the deepest and most valuable lessons to guide the policy of a country.

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*St. Columba, and other Poems.* By Rev. J. GOLDEN. London : Burns & Oates, Ltd. 1886.

WE have here told in fluent verse the poetic story of St. Columba, the apostle of the Scottish Isles, whose original name of Crimtair was changed into Columbkille, "Dove of the Cells," in allusion to the number of churches and monasteries founded by him. It is a somewhat remarkable fact that his missionary career was imposed on him by the Synod of Meath by way of penance for a war believed to have been waged on his account, the sentence being that he should convert as many souls as had been slain in battle in his cause. The result was the conversion of the inhabitants of Skye, Mull, the Orcades and Faroe Islands, as well as Iona, which the saint made the headquarters of his apostolate.

The volume contains a second and longer piece called "Old Dick the Prophet," in which some of the romantic aspects of Irish scenery, with their traditions, are celebrated in the metre of "Hiawatha."

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*The Poetry of Sir Samuel Ferguson.* By MR. JUSTICE O'HAGAN. Dublin : M. H. Gill & Son. 1887.

THIS little volume is a reprint from the *Irish Monthly* of a sympathetic essay on the stirring poems of Sir Samuel Ferguson.

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*The Young Philistine.* By ALICE CORKRAN. London : Burns & Oates. 1886.

WE are sorry that pressure of space admits only of our recommending this charming volume of tales most cordially to our readers.

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\* \* \* A Notice of "Frederick Francis Xavier de Mérode, by the Bishop of Nîmes, translated by Lady Herbert" (London : W. H. Allen & Co.), reaches us too late for insertion in this number. Several volumes just arrived shall also be noticed in October.

## Record of Roman Documents.

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**BEATIFICATION AND CANONIZATION.**—The following are passing through the various stages:—

I. To prove the *non cultus* in accordance with the decree of Pope Urban VIII.:

Maddalena, Marchioness of Canossa, Foundress of the Daughters of Charity. *Vid. Tablet*, May 14, 1887.

Fra Bernard Maria Clausi, professed priest of the Order of Minims of S. Francis of Paula. *Vid. Tablet*, March 19, 1887.

II. To prove sanctity, sufficient to justify the Commission in proceeding with the cause (*super fama sanctitatis in genere*):

Venerable Felix da Nicosia, Capuchin lay brother. *Vid. Tablet*, April 30, 1887.

Venerable Margaret Bourgeoys, Foundress of the Congregation of the Sisters of Notre Dame, Canada. *Vid. Tablet*, May 14, 1887.

III. To prove the authenticity of miracles before Beatification:

Venerable John Baptist de la Salle, Founder of the Brothers of the Christian Schools. *Vid. Tablet*, April 23, 1887.

IV. For the final discussion upon the miracles adduced before Canonization:

Blessed John Berchmanns, S.J. *Vid. Tablet*, April 9, 1887.

**BRIEF OF POPE LEO XIII.** to Bishop Ireland, of S. Paul, Minnesota, encouraging the work of the Catholic Total Abstinence Union (dated March 27, 1887). *Vid. Tablet*, April 16, 1887; and *Irish Eccles. Record*, May 1887.

**CANONRIES, APPOINTMENTS TO.**—The privilege claimed by the Chapter of Cortona, of filling up vacancies in their ranks, which occurred during Episcopal months, in virtue of a custom dating back to 1743, recognized by the Holy See (*S. R. C.*, Aug. 21, 1886). *Vid. Tablet*, May 7, 1887.

**CANONS, CHORAL OBLIGATIONS OF.**—How far can a Canon, who is at the same time a parish priest, satisfy the chorral obligations of his canonry, though occupied with parochial duties? (*S. C. C.*, July 24, 1886.) *Vid. Tablet*, May 21, 1887.

**CONCURSUS FOR THE OFFICE OF CANON PENITENTIARY.**—The successful candidate being from another diocese, the bishop of which objected to part with him, the appointment is annulled, and a fresh concursus is to be held. (*S. C. C.*, Jan. 29, 1887.) *Vid. Tablet*, March 26, 1887.

**DECREES.**—For the introduction of the Cause or Beatification or Declaration of Martyrdom of 261 Venerable Servants of God (English). *Vid. Tablet*, April 2, 1887; and *Irish Eccles. Record*, April, 1887.

**DISPENSATION a matrimonio rato sed non consummato.** *Vid. Tablet*, May 14, 1887.

**DISPENSATION** to put aside the clerical dress and to recite other

prayers, appointed by the bishop, instead of the divine office, granted to sub-deacon for these amongst other reasons :—He had his mother to support. He was engaged as a teacher in the Communal School. His time was fully occupied. He was fifty-four years of age, &c. (*S. C. C.*, March 5, 1887.) *Vid. Tablet*, June 11, 1887.

**ENGLISH MARTYRS.**—Feasts appointed, and *proper* Mass and Office conceded for the English Martyrs.

May 4, Blessed John Fisher, Bishop ; Thomas More, and Companions. Rite *Duplex Majus*.

May 4, Blessed John, Augustine, Robert, and Companions, Carthusian Martyrs.

May 22, Blessed John Forrest, O.S.F.

May 29, Blessed John Stone, O.S.A.

Dec. 1, Blessed John Edmund Campion, Alexander Briant, and Companions S.J. (*S. R. C.*, April 30, 1887.) *Vid. Tablet*, May 14, 1887.

**INDEX.**—The author of the work entitled “*El processo de l'integrismo*,” censured by the Sacred Congregation of the Index, has freely and fully retracted. *Vid. Tablet*, June 4, 1887.

**LETTERS OF POPE LEO XIII. :**

I. To the Archbishop of Cologne, dated April 7, 1887, showing his interest and the improvement in the affairs of the Church in Prussia.

II. Upon the establishment of a Catholic University in the United States, to be subject to the Bishops, an Episcopal Committee to arrange the details, the Bishops to select the University City. It bears date, April 10, 1887.

III. To Cardinal Oreglia, Bishop of Præneste, upon the Study of the Natural Sciences. Dated, Jan 21, 1887. *Vid. Irish Ecclesiastical Record*, June 1887.

**“MISSA PRO POPULO” IN FRANCE.**—A twofold obligation of saying the *Missa pro Populo* rests upon a parish priest, who besides his own parish has also the charge of another parish, which through poverty has no resident priest attached. (*S. C. C.*, July 24, 1886.) *Vid. Tablet*, April 30, 1887.

**PASSION, FEASTS OF THE.**—Feasts of the Passion are to have the preference both in *concurrentia* and in *occurentia* before other feasts of the same rite. (*S. R. C.*, Aug. 11, 1886.) *Vid. Tablet*, March 19, 1887.

**TERTIARIES OF S. FRANCIS**—One scapular will not suffice for those who are members of the Third Order and of the Confraternity of Mount Carmel. The size of the scapular is to be determined by custom.

The General Absolutions granted to Tertiaries may be given privately by the Confessor of any Tertiary after Sacramental Absolution ; but publicly, only by a priest in charge of Tertiaries assembled for that purpose. (*S. C. Ind. et Sac. Relig.*, June 10, 1886.) *Vid. Tablet*, April 23, 1887 ; and *Irish Ecclesiastical Record*, June, 1887.

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302 **Abelly**.—Sacerdos Christianus. *Bruxelles*, 1852. 12mo. (1s. 6d.) 10d.

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315 **Alzog** (D. J.) Patrologie, trad. par l'abbé P. Belet, 1877. 8vo. (7s. 6d.) 4s.

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1413 **Anchieta** (Vén. Joseph) Vie du, et Vie du P. Em. De Nobréga, S. J. par C. Sainte-Foy, *Tournai* 1858. 12mo. (2s.) 1s.

319 **Angèle de Foligno**, Le livre des Visions et instructions par E. Hello, *Paris* 1863. 18mo. (2s.) 1s.

1641 **Anne de Jésus** (Vie de la Mère) Coadjutrice de S. Thérèse dans l'œuvre de la réforme du Carmel. par le R. P. Berthold. Ignace de Sainte - Anne. IIme partie, *Malines* 1882. 8vo. (14s.) 8s.

322 **Année Religieuse sanctifiée par la méditation de chaque jour par une supérieure de communauté, Paris** 1876. 3 vols. 12 mo. (7s. 6d.) 4s. 6d.

323 **Arduin** (l'abbé A.) La Religion en face de la Science. (*Cosmogonie*). *Paris* 1877. 8vo. (7s.) 3s. 6d.

324 **Argentan** (le P. L. F. d'—Capucin) Conférences théologiques et spirituelles sur les grandeurs de Jésus Christ, *Lyon* 1864. 2 vols. 8vo. (7s.) 3s. 6d.

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Burns & Oates, Ltd., 28, Orchard Street, London, W.

340 **Avanzini** (Pet) de constitutione Apostolicae Sedi Commentarii. *Rome*, 1878. 12mo. (1s. 6d.) 1s.

341 **D'Avesne (E.)** Devant l'Ennemi (édit. richement illustrée). *Paris*. 8vo. (8s.) 4s. 6d.

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346 **Bacuez et Vigouroux**.—Manuel Biblique. 3<sup>me</sup> édition. *Paris*, 1882. 4 vols. 12mo. (1s.) 7s.

347 **Bail (L.)**—La Théologie affective, ou Saint Thomas en méditation. Nouvelle édition par l'abbé Chevereux. *Paris*, 1857. 5 vols. 8vo. (1s.) 8s. 6d.

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